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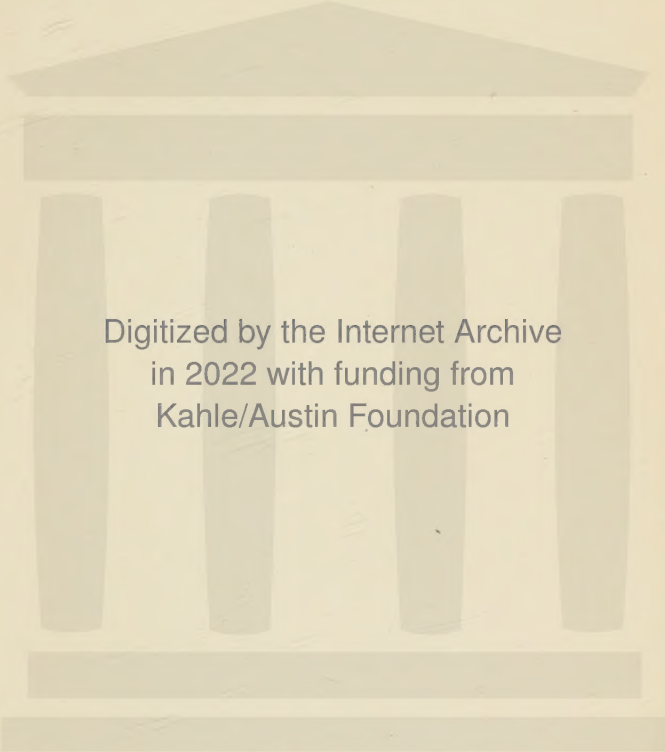


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THE LIFE AND WORK OF
SIR JAMES KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH

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JAMES P. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH.
Circa 1862.

[*Frontispiece.*

THE LIFE AND WORK OF
SIR JAMES
KAY - SHUTTLEWORTH

BY FRANK SMITH

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY SIR MICHAEL SADLER

AND A CHAPTER
BY LORD SHUTTLEWORTH

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PREFACE

IN attempting to give a connected account of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's life and manifold activities, based on his published works and private papers, I have rejected, sometimes with grave doubts, many details that would have found a place in biographies of a generation and less ago. But I trust that the total impression of the man is not weakened thereby, and that by brevity I have been able to convey a clearer picture of his energy and passion for work. Where possible, I have quoted his own words in full, and especially have I made use, in the early chapters, of an autobiographical manuscript which was written near the end of his life.

To apportion half the book to ten years' work may seem a fault in perspective, but the plan was deliberate. The years which he spent at the Education Office are the focus of his life, the period in which were concentrated his labours and battles to found a national system of education, whereby he made a contribution of permanent value to the history of education in this country. It underlies and explains much of present-day organisation.

To Lord Shuttleworth, who entrusted to me his father's papers and gave me full liberty to use them as I desired, I owe an unpayable debt of gratitude. He has given me unceasing assistance throughout the preparation of the work, and, besides writing the intimate personal sketch printed in this volume, he has spared no pains to make my record full and accurate. I am

also indebted to Vice-Chancellor Sir Michael Sadler, my first teacher in the history of education in the nineteenth century, for writing a valuable introduction and for reading and criticising my manuscript; to the late Rev. George Style, sometime Headmaster of Giggleswick, for an account of that school which I have freely used in Chapter X.; and to Mr. S. H. Moore, Headmaster of Silcoates School, for much helpful criticism.

F. SMITH.

November, 1922.

INTRODUCTION

BY

SIR MICHAEL SADLER, K.C.S.I., C.B., LITT.D.

IN the gallery of portraits of great Englishmen this book fills a gap. Until Mr. Frank Smith, with Lord Shuttleworth's indispensable aid and counsel, wrote this life of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the materials for a history of elementary education in England have been incomplete. The mind and character of a giant among public servants are now at last revealed. Matthew Arnold, who more than almost any other man was in a position to judge the significance and quality of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's achievement, predicted forty years ago that, when the English system of public education came to stand full and fairly formed, Kay-Shuttleworth would have a statue. In this book he has at last a memorial.

The time of its appearance is opportune. In its chief lineaments Kay-Shuttleworth's life-work is now complete. The policy which he conceived, and upon which he spent his strength, has been the ground plan of English elementary education as we know it to-day. Nearly three generations have had to pass away before the structure was finished. But we can now see the full design. Kay-Shuttleworth was its chief architect. To him more than to anyone else we owe it that England is supplied with schools for the children of her people, and that this costly work has been accomplished without a breach between Church and State. The chief office of education is "to link the generations

each with each." Not less respectful of the past or provident for the future should be its administrative aim in a country so conservative and yet so forward-looking as England.

In 1824 his mother, Mrs. Kay, to whose example and training he owed much of the stern self-mastery which lay at the core of his life, bade him, when a student at the University of Edinburgh, remember that "we live in a dying world and at a dying time." To a strong lad, bred in one of the most vigorous of English counties in the flush of the Industrial Revolution, the words may have been unreal. But we, who a hundred years later look back over the great curve of the social and mental history of Western Europe during the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries, feel some foreboding of their truth. The deep wounds in English national life which he saw with a doctor's eye and attempted to staunch have not been wholly cured. The habit of depending upon public aid and charitable doles, which he from his experience of the old Poor Law abhorred, has not been eradicated. Education, which he presented as one sovereign remedy, has proved to be a subtler and more complex thing than he and his contemporaries realized. Some of the moral presuppositions of a competitive society, which to him wore the appearance of what is inevitable and not unattractive, have been challenged by the more sensitive conscience of men and women who owe their comfort to wealth won by the industrialism of the nineteenth century. Sombre and doubtful the future looks to us after the war. Like Mrs. Kay, some of us feel that we are watching the decline of a civilisation, and that we live in a dying world and at a dying time. At the end of a period which began with his brave salvage work, and that of his comrades, Kay-Shuttleworth's life appears. To read it now for the first time, in the light of our knowledge of later events, and with the experience of the changes which have come over the theory and technique of public education, is like being shown a newly discovered portrait by Daumier. But the book

is a tonic. It is the picture of an austere and courageous man, like Wordsworth's Happy Warrior—

“Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim.”

Kay-Shuttleworth lived for English education. And England which owes to him the conservation of much of her wasted strength will now give him his meed.

He was a child of the Industrial Revolution, sturdy, independent-minded, strong-handed and a believer in *labor improbus*. The foundation of his character was religion. The instrument of his mental activity was social science. The decisive factor in his moral judgment was Christian compassion. Edwin Chadwick, Arthur Helps and he are characteristic figures at a time of readjustment of English social ideals. Like Chadwick, he had a clear aim, a strong will and a dominating personality. Like Helps, he had tenderness, insight into English susceptibilities, and the gift of prompt and timely pamphleteering. All three were creators of a new Civil Service. The English race is not good at bureaucracy. But he, Helps and Chadwick saw the need for an efficient, scientific and determined public service. Chadwick and Kay-Shuttleworth won their battle, but fell, so far as official work went, almost in the hour of their victory. Helps had the safer place and the less turbulent duty. But his writings, more than Chadwick's or Kay-Shuttleworth's, disclose the fine motive which inspired the fighting members of the group. Kay-Shuttleworth was English compromise at its best. He saw the strength of the contending parties; respected the truth which each severally defended; disliked the fanaticism of each; endeavoured with endless and unseen patience to reconcile them; never gave up his main purpose; never deceived himself or others; shrank from no labour; spent his powers in public service; fought his enemies now on one flank now on the other; hated the falsehood of extremes; bore misrepresentations, disappointment and apparent failure with the hidden strength of moral conviction; and

looked for no personal reward in popularity for labours given to his country and to the welfare of his fellow-citizens. He was a great official because he had the mind of a statesman: a great reformer because he was stern as well as tender in his judgment of men: a great administrator of education because he was himself a teacher: a great teacher because he set himself always to learn from others, whether in humble station or highly placed, and whether their work lay in Britain or abroad. A Lancashire home bred him: a Sunday School taught him to see greatness of character under forms however humble: medicine trained him: work among the victims of fever, cholera, and poverty awoke in him compassion: Benthamism taught him method: experience of great affairs gave him circumspection, insight into English hesitation and tenacity, and adroit high-minded patience: the Cotton Famine confirmed him in his admiration of English doggedness and manly independence: later life disclosed to him the significance of secondary and higher education as part of a system which should be national in some of its administrative attachments but local and corporate in its loyalty and apt adjustment to the needs of the community which it serves: and through all the years of a busy, concentrated life he believed in the English character and gave his best to his own folk and their future.

M. E. SADLER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS,
October, 1922.

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THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIR JAMES KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE. STUDENT. PHYSICIAN

JAMES PHILLIPS KAY¹ was born at Rochdale on July 20, 1804. His father, Robert Kay, was a cotton manufacturer, and was a member of one of the branches of the old Lancashire family of Kay.² He was a convinced Nonconformist, and took a leading part in the building of the Independent Chapel at Bamford, near Rochdale, in 1801, and in its subsequent activities and fortunes. The part it played in his interests and affections may be measured by his request, at his death in 1834, that his body should be interred "in that pew where he used to sit and listen to the Gospel."³ His wife, Hannah Kay (*née* Phillips), who came from Birmingham after her marriage there in 1803, shared her husband's religious zeal, and helped him to make their home a place of industrious habits, simple tastes, and earnest purpose.

James Phillips Kay was the eldest of their six children, one girl and five boys, four of whom were to attain eminence in their respective callings.⁴ After

¹ The additional surname, Shuttleworth, he took on his marriage in 1842.

² He was a near relative of the Fenton and Fort families, members of which occupied conspicuous business positions in the county, and, later, seats in Parliament: *e.g.* John Fenton, his nephew, was the first Member for Rochdale (1832); John Fort, another nephew, was Member for Clitheroe, as also, later on, were his son Richard and grandson Richard.

³ See *Bamford Chapel: its Origin and History*, by Rev. W. M. Arthur, M.A. (1901).

⁴ The second son, Robert Kay, became one of the foremost calico printers in Lancashire, at Trows, Castleton, near Rochdale. The third

some years the family removed to Ordsall Cottage, Salford, and a prize gained at "Leaf Square Grammar School" in June, 1815, for "diligence in composing his themes," is the only material record of the schooling that the eldest boy received. At the age of fifteen he was despatched to his uncle Fenton's bank at Rochdale to learn the business, and lived with him at Bamford Hall. While there he became a teacher in the Sunday School at Bamford, ultimately becoming superintendent of the boys' department, and "in a little time such improvement took place that it was agreed to enlarge the school."¹ Thus early did he show his ability and interest in school organisation.

The materials for recording this period of his life are meagre enough, yet something could be filled in from indirect sources. Rochdale was then a rapidly growing town of ten or eleven thousand inhabitants, to which the closing years of the eighteenth century had brought considerable prosperity and expansion of her cotton and woollen industries; and in Samuel Bamford's *Early Days and Passages in the Life of a Radical* a clear picture has been drawn of the daily life and habits of the workers in South-East Lancashire during James Phillips Kay's boyhood and youth. There is also some autobiography in his novel *Scarsdale* (published 1860), in which he wrote of the hill country of the Lancashire border as he had known it forty years before, and probably inserted some of his own pedestrian feats and

son, Joseph Kay, Q.C., was Judge of the Manchester and Salford Palatine Court. Before graduating at Cambridge he was appointed by the Senate in 1845 travelling bachelor of the University, and spent four years in France, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, and Austria, examining and reporting on the social condition of the poor. He was the author of (1) *The Education of the Poor in England and Europe*, 1846; (2) *The Social Condition of the People in England and Europe*, 1850, two vols.; (3) *The Condition and Education of Poor Children in English and in German Towns*, 1853; (4) *Free Trade in Land* (several editions), with Preface by John Bright (see Kay, Joseph, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*). The fourth son was afterwards Sir Edward Ebenezer Kay, P.C., Kt., Q.C., Lord Justice. The two latter were respectively sixteen and eighteen years younger than their eldest brother, who bestowed much care on their education and development, especially after the death of their father in 1834, while they were still quite young.

¹ *Bamford Chapel: its Origin and History.*

youthful escapades in the narrative. But the most direct record of his early years is to be found in a letter which he wrote in 1867 to the Old Scholars of the Bamford Sunday School,¹ wherein he describes clearly and intimately his adolescent interests :

“My dear Friends—I regret that I cannot hope to avail myself of your minister’s invitation to be present at the meeting of the old scholars of the Bamford Sunday School. Probably few among you know that for two or three years before I went to College, and while I was living with my uncle Fenton, at Bamford Hall, I took a very lively interest in your school. I was a youth between 15 and 18 years old, and I devoted my leisure to the organisation and management of the boys’ school. Robert Porter, a deacon of the Independent Church, had charge of the girls’ school. As these early events of my youth have never faded from my memory, nor lost their hold upon my feelings, some of my remembrances may be interesting to you.

“Among the most prominent of these is my association with Thomas Jackson. He was the son of the minister, and my most active assistant. He was then a youth, learning his trade as a shoemaker. He was crippled in the foot and leg, and of by no means a robust constitution ; but he had a wiry vigour of frame, singular activity and energy, and considerable mental power, but only a very humble elementary education. He had then much quaint humour, was prone to be arch and sarcastic, and was full of practical jokes. Beneath this surface there was a depth and earnestness of purpose, and a sincere and fervent piety which directed his whole after-life. He taught in the Sunday School very regularly and with great energy. He was the leader of the choir in the chapel, where he played the violin. He was most enthusiastic in organising choral meetings, for which he obtained the scores of oratorios and anthems, and with an unwearied energy superintended the rehearsals—both instrumental and vocal—before the final display. At last, after great exertions at meetings for practice, held during most nights of every week, for two or three months, the whole neighbourhood was assembled, all the performers were placed on a platform in the chapel, Thomas Jackson led with his violin, and

¹ Printed in the *Rochdale Observer*, October 5, 1867.

there was a burst of instrumental and vocal music which astonished the audience.

"I was then at work on chemistry and electricity and magnetism, and the worthy minister allowed me to establish my laboratory in a part of his house. His son, Thomas Jackson, generally assisted me in the construction of apparatus and in experiments, and I conceive it was he that proposed that I should give to the Sunday scholars and their parents a public demonstration of the most remarkable changes in volume, form, and colour, which attend such operations. This, in my young and inexperienced hands, resulted in my suddenly driving my whole audience from the school in tumult and confusion, by filling the room with an irritating and noxious gas.

"Occasionally I took the most active teachers and advanced scholars a long excursion on foot. I remember that once we climbed the Knowl Hill, and descended Balderstone and Brooksbottom. I cannot remember whether we then ascended Holcombe; I think not, but even without this, our excursion was long and fatiguing. I recall that, on our return, as a last feat, we climbed the steep scar in Bamford Wood. I mention this just to show you with what strange energy of will Thomas Jackson could compel his crippled and wiry frame to do him service, for he was my foremost companion in this excursion. I had climbed the scar expecting to throw off almost all my party, but when I reached an old withered oak which overhung the top, I found Thomas close to me. I revive the recollection also to recommend such excursions to you.

"I hope there are still as many florists among you as there were in the old congregation of hand-loom weavers who gathered from the cottages between Bagslate, Ashworth, and Birtle. The minister was himself, perhaps, the most skilful florist, and Thomas learned the art from his father, and through life took daily pleasure in the garden attached to his cottage. Whenever I have visited him, I have found it full of choice flowers, reared with the greatest skill. I do not remember that there were any flower shows nearer than Rochdale.

"I was fond of accompanying the deacons in their visits on Sundays to remote 'folds' and hamlets in the hills of Blackstone Edge and Todmorden, or along the range from Knowl Hill to Rowley Moor. I remember

long walks with the deacon John Crabtree—his pious conversation on the way—our arrival at a weaver's cottage in some far distant 'fold' on the edge of a wild moor—the simple breakfast of oatcake, or oatmeal porridge and milk—the gathering of the neighbours, and the primitive scriptural greetings sometimes uttered—the simple services, and the quaint, rather dogmatic discourse of my friend John. The mid-day meal of eggs, bacon and oatcake; then the walk home, and the arrival at Bamford in the twilight or night. In these walks John lent his whole influence with me to induce me to become a missionary; but I had an eager thirst for knowledge, and longed to go to the university to study science, history, and metaphysics.

"You know that the mantle of John Crabtree fell on my friend Thomas Jackson, who in after-years, while he supported his family by working at his trade as a shoemaker, became a devoted missionary among the solitary hamlets and remote villages of our Lancashire and Yorkshire highlands.

"I have often heard him preach. His discourses were carefully prepared. They were characterised by much of the quaintness of the old divines, and deeply tinged by a severe form of Calvinistic theology. But his imagination prevented his style from being harsh, and the geniality of his disposition gave a winning sweetness to his manner, so that the sternest doctrines of his creed were not repulsive from his lips.

"I visited him from time to time¹ to imbibe somewhat of the spirit of his earnest life and give him some slight proof of my sympathy in his labours. Thus I came to know that Thomas visited many outlying congregations of weavers, miners, and labourers on the borders of Derbyshire and Cheshire, and along the Blackstone Edge range of hills. He walked great distances to places remote from any public conveyance. He commonly lodged on the Saturday and Sunday nights in the cottage of the deacon or other prominent member of the little congregation; and conducted the worship on the Sunday either in some small chapel or in a cottage. There must be in many secluded places a lively remembrance of the earnest, unwearied man, who spent his life in such humble but faithful imitation of Christ.

"I have a heartfelt pleasure in holding up to you the

¹ *I.e.* in later life.

example of this noble-hearted good man—in pointing to his simple, cheerful, pure life, to his struggle with natural infirmity of body and his triumph over it, and to his self-sacrificing labours under the influence of fervent religious zeal.

“At last, he had to suffer under grievous chronic disease, which slowly wasted his strength, until his life flickered out. But his hope rose as his vital force failed, and he died strong in faith and full of charity.

“I wish I could remember as much of John Ashworth, who was one of my scholars in your Sunday school. You know that John Ashworth is the missionary of Rochdale. He has published tracts of which some hundred thousand copies have been sold. He has done more than any other man to keep alive and spread the faith of Christ among the manual labour class in the valley of the Roche, and his missionary labours extend to many distant places. Early in the cotton famine, I visited Rochdale, with a friend, to make myself acquainted with the organisation of relief there. We were in the stores, from which bread, meal, soup and other food were given, and were examining the forms of their accounts, and the modes of distribution. Two members of the relief committee were explaining to us their methods, when one of them said to me: ‘I am one of your former Sunday scholars.’ ‘At Bamford Chapel?’ I inquired. ‘Yes,’ he said, ‘I am John Ashworth.’ I did not before that know that John Ashworth had been one of our Bamford Sunday scholars. Since that time I have read all John Ashworth’s tracts, and watched his career. My conviction is that he is a noble-hearted man, with a natural genius for his work as an evangelist. You ought to rejoice as I do, that your Sunday school has produced such a man.

“I would not have you, however, think that the Sunday school can do all that is needed in the instruction and training of youth. The Sunday school was the root from which sprang our system of day schools. The force which makes religious training the chief aim of the elementary day school was derived from this root. The congregational organisation of our school system had the same origin. Long before even enlightened statesmen and leaders of public opinion cared for the education of the people, the congregation had begun the work in the Sunday school. When the

Government first attempted to organise national education, it not only found this machinery ready to its hand, but it also, after various experiments in other directions, found that the Churches and congregations contained within themselves a zeal and purpose, as to public education, which existed in no civic body—not even in the Parliament itself. Even now, when great political changes have made the education of the people a necessity of the State, I cannot conceive that any purely civic body like a committee of ratepayers or a town council can, in the present state of information, opinion, and feeling, without mischief, supersede the congregation in the management of the school. On the other hand, the congregational school will have to become a public school, in which the civil rights of the minority, however small and humble, will have to be respected. On this basis the schools which have sprung from the root of the Sunday school, and retain both the original aim of religious teaching and the congregational organisation, may well be included in a national system supported both by the general taxation and by local rates.

“Your Sunday school has, as I am informed by your minister, borne its natural fruit, a congregational day school, attended by eighty scholars. From what I know of the district, I think this number ought to be greatly increased. That increase would be ensured if your children came to school at an earlier age and remained to a later age, and if they were kept more regularly at school. Few grow up without some schooling, but the period of their instruction is too short and too much interrupted. You ought not to confine your exertions to the payment of the school pence, but to make whatever sacrifice of wages or of home services is required to assure them a thorough elementary education.

“The Sunday school will be regarded more and more as a part of the religious organisation of the congregation. The day school will, I hope, always retain the object of bringing up our youth religiously, but it will also be adapted to the political wants of the State, and to the civil rights of the minority. We do not make revolutions in England, but our institutions grow and spread like our oaks. So this school system, which has had a congregational origin, will grow, change and spread until it is national.

"Now, I bid you God speed. I have written all these words from my heart. I often think of Bamford, and I should not wonder if, among my last thoughts, is the Sunday school in the organisation and management of which I, forty-five years ago, received the first impulse to observe, inquire and ponder on the methods and discipline of schools for the people."

Home and Sunday school thus united in shaping the boy's life, and in implanting in him a religious faith that was his motive force in the struggle for civil and religious liberty which he was to wage through many years of human service. But, like many of his contemporaries whose youth fell in the intense early days of the nineteenth century, he was possessed of a thirst for knowledge and activity which Rochdale and a commercial life could not satisfy. The same force that drove Thomas Cooper, the Chartist, from his bed on dark winter mornings to con his lessons, the same force that drove Rowland Hill to find out things which nobody could teach him, also drove the boy Kay to the desire for a university career. Some letters in 1822 from his old schoolmaster, the Rev. John Clunie, show that he encouraged his former pupil in his ambition, and had faith in his ability. Fragments of verse and romantic tales still exist to prove that he followed the way of youth in seeking to find a suitable vehicle of expression, and it is believed that one of the partners in the bank encouraged and aided him in the study of poetry.¹ Perhaps more important was his intimate knowledge of and enthusiasm for Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth, and Milton.

In 1824 his desire for a wider life was realised, and he left Bamford, where his parents were then living, for

¹ A carefully preserved letter from the Editor of the *Bolton Express*, refusing to insert a poem "unless it were to be very considerably altered," shows that he suffered the usual disappointments. He printed privately a book of verse in 1842 to present to his wife, but his work had no great merit. A friend of his, to whom he read many of his compositions as they were written, expressed the opinion long afterwards: "They impressed me at the time as manifesting great originality and real creative power, but by no means as models of artistic and finished execution."

Edinburgh University, which he entered in November as a medical student. A large number of letters, preserved from this period, testify to the deep affection that followed him to the North. Thomas Jackson reported "the dreadful chasm perceivable in the school." His sister Hannah lavished upon him letters of sisterly love and domestic detail. His chief correspondent was his mother, whose frequent communications, in spite of a heavy postal rate, were admirable mixtures of strong human affection, deep religious feeling, and sound worldly advice. On his departure, she hides her own grief by describing her husband's :

"I think I never knew your Papa feel so acutely on any occasion. O make him every compensation in your power by a steady attention to your studies and that consistency of conduct which you have hitherto maintained, and which you have witnessed in him as your example."

On sending him money she trusts him (perhaps with some unexpressed doubts) with the great responsibility of spending it : "It will not, I am sure, be improperly appropriated—because you know the extent of our means." In the purchase of clothes, however, she cannot refrain from advising black, as being "more serviceable." When death carries off an uncle and some acquaintances she reminds him of the necessity of preparation for its "important consequences," as "we live in a dying world and at a dying time." When betrayed into an expression of delight that her son had given her cause for gratitude, she hastens to add a sobering clause : "Do not let it make you incautious in any degree. More ought to be expected from you than others. Your advantages have been increased and your future conduct should then correspond, as your accountability will be greater." After her son's return to Edinburgh from his first long vacation in 1825, she writes to say that his treatment of his sister's indisposition and of his father's deafness has been very successful, and adds a similar caution : "But, my dear,

let me guard you against self-confidence, we are only safe in God's keeping." His election to an important student office occasioned her considerable alarm :

"I imagine you will ascribe it to my weakness, but I do not wish you to be frequently the President of a dinner table or one of a dinner party, and if it expose you to such temptations I care not how soon your Presidency closes—because I am sure no one can rise from such entertainment in any degree better for it. Nor am I pleased with your midnight rambles—although we were with the description of it—but I fear for your health if your debates are kept up beyond a reasonable hour, and I beg you will not increase the evil by any unnecessary prolongation on your part, but make them more orderly in every respect in your power. All this is because I love you so much, and have so continually your best interests at heart."

It is not given to all undergraduates to receive such letters.

Of his life and career at Edinburgh there is abundant record. His rapid progress was the more brilliant because of his inadequate preparation for university studies, and a fellow-student has recorded that in his first winter he overtook and passed most of his contemporaries.

"He became a marked personage in the classrooms, where his earnest, never-swerving attention to lectures, his massive forehead, and the high intellectual cast of his features impressed all, professors as well as students, with a prevision of his certain subsequent distinction."

He won immediate success as a speaker in the Royal Medical Society,¹ and a paper which he read before it in his first session aroused "a prolonged and most animated discussion." So rapidly did he acquire fame as a debater that in his second session he was elected Senior President by a large majority, an election which, as has been seen, aroused his mother's anxieties.

"He was soon regarded," says the student already

¹ A medical students' society, to which the teaching staff were admitted as honorary members.

quoted, "as beyond all comparison the most impressive debater in the Society, with the single exception of Dr. Wm. Cullen, many years his senior and then a lecturer in Anatomy. Even when matched against this practised disputant, Mr. Kay maintained an almost equal combat. Over his fellow-students he achieved an easy triumph, overbearing all opposition in a torrent of vigorous expression, imagery, and argument. At this early phase of his intellectual life the rhetorical faculty was unquestionably far more energetically developed than the logical. He was not then so exact a thinker, so close a reasoner, or so condensed a writer, as he afterwards became in the severe training of official life."¹

Unexpected testimony is also given by Darwin,² who entered Edinburgh in 1825 :

"I was also a member of the Royal Medical Society, and attended pretty regularly. . . . Much rubbish was talked there, but there were some good speakers, of whom the best was the present Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth."

Recognition of his ability as a student was soon forthcoming. He began to conduct a research at an early date into the diseases of the chest and into the cause of death in asphyxia, and his first paper was read before the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Edinburgh by

¹ An interesting confirmation of this is given by the preservation of some notes of a speech he made in proposing the toast of the Society at the annual dinner. Perhaps the occasion was unusually serious, but the extract shows that he had already acquired the exalted style and leisurely repetition which afterwards made his pamphlets unduly long, and in modern times too much neglected. He is defending the claims of Science against the Classics : "We do well, therefore, to search the immortal pages of Greek and Roman literature, we do nobly when we pay our homage to the relics of the Mantuan or Homeric lay, when we wrap around us the stole of Grecian tragedy and breathe the fire of Pindar, when we assume the consular dignity and as Cicero before the wondering senate unmask the audacious conspiracy of Cataline before the traitor's eye, or with Demosthenes hurl the anathema of unshackled genius upon the tyrant of Greece, but oh ! the absurdity that it should be made a circumstance of grave and critical learning to become conversant with the critical views of Greek particles and the vain theories of Greek accents, and a proud accomplishment of this day to limp in the stilts of Grecian verse when their author never wrote a rhyme in his mother tongue"—and so on.

² Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, i. 40.

Professor Alison, who praised warmly its originality, and it was afterwards printed in the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*. Professor Alison also appointed him to the much coveted clinical clerkship, which involved the examination of each case admitted into the wards, and the preparation of an elaborate report of the symptoms and previous history.

“Mr. Kay performed his task with the skill of a practised writer. His reports, not invariably simple narratives of the facts of the case, but coloured and adorned by his imaginative power, and perhaps influenced by preconceived views, yet bore the impress of his mind, and were eagerly perused by the clinical students.”

Still more important, both as immediate experience and for future effects, was his appointment, in 1826, as assistant in the Edinburgh New Town Dispensary, and in the autumn of the same year, during an outbreak of fever, he was also appointed clerk in the Queensberry Fever Hospital. It was the experiences he went through in these two posts that definitely turned his energies into their appointed channel, and made him, to use a much abused term, a social reformer. Not at once did he realise the direction he must take, but slowly, and by degrees, the problem of the destitute poor, the suffering, the ignorant and the despairing, took possession of his mind and drove him to seek for a solution. He has described these experiences, and their effect upon him, in words that need no emphasis :

“As medical assistant in the New Town Dispensary I was soon occupied some hours daily with patients in the wynds and closes of the Canongate and Cowgate. . . . From the ridge of the High Street, especially on the west, descended steep narrow avenues on either side of which rose lofty buildings, sometimes six to nine storeys high, the separate flats of which were reached by a common staircase, sometimes a corkscrew stair in an ancient turret. . . . These houses had once been inhabited by the wealthier citizens of Edinburgh, and some of them by the Scottish gentry or higher aristocracy, but now they were almost universally converted

into barracks, in the separate rooms of which lodged the most suffering portion of the Scotch and Irish poor. Climbing from a street which had formerly been a scene of great historic interest, it was not uncommon to find, in rooms which had decorated fireplaces and ceilings, a family, in the worst extremities of poverty and disease, stretched on sacks of straw, five or six storeys above the street. It was from such narrow and foul abodes that patients suffering from acute disease, or from the fatal typhoid and typhus of the Old Town, had to be carried to the Royal Infirmary or the Fever Hospital. There were no paid nurses, and in the worst extremities of destitution critical maladies had to be treated in these close and foul rooms. I have even found the Irishman's pig, carried up as a suckling, and grown to dimensions which would have rendered its removal almost impossible, occupying with the family a dwelling several storeys above the street. The filth of the common stairs was most odious. The habits of a large part of this population sapped all the vigour of life and left them an easy prey to disease. . . .

"Among these scenes I had the inestimable advantage to be frequently the assistant of Professor Alison, who, as one of the physicians of the New Town Dispensary, spent some hours daily in the worst slums of the Canongate and Cowgate. It might be well known that the Professor had ascended some common stair to visit a scene of suffering, for round the entrance in the street would generally be grouped some of the old crones of the neighbourhood awaiting his descent, either to solicit a charity which seemed unbounded in its gifts, or to carry him away to some other patient. His compassion seemed inexhaustible. The importunities of the dirty, garrulous old women seemed never to offend or weary him. He listened to their tales with a kindly expression not wanting in shrewdness, but always patient and sympathetic. That a man so gifted, so learned and highly skilled, and whom the whole University regarded with such reverence, should exhaust the best resources of his art, and by his charity make inroads upon his income which he could ill afford, in succouring the incurable sufferings of this abject population, was an example never to be forgotten. . . .

"I necessarily became familiar with the foulest slums in which this wretched population seemed to

be continually perishing. Their habits, wants and sufferings were constantly before my eyes. I came to know how almost useless were the resources of my art to contend with the consequences of formidable social evils. It was clearly something outside scientific skill or charity which was needed for the cure of this social disease. This thought was burned into me by daily experience. . . .

"Very early, therefore, I began to reflect on this complex problem. Were this degradation and this suffering inevitable? Could they only be mitigated? Were we always to be working with palliatives? Was there no remedy? Might not this calamity be traced to its sources and all the resources of a Christian nation devoted through whatever time was necessary to the moral and physical regeneration of this wretched population?

"Parallel therefore with my scientific reading I gradually began to make myself acquainted with the best works on political and social science, and obtained more and more insight into the grave questions affecting the relations of capital and labour, and the distribution of wealth, as well as the inseparable connection between the mental and moral condition of the people and their physical well-being. If there had been any tendency in the culture of the scientific spirit to extinguish compassionate sympathy, I had at my side constantly the example of Professor Alison, who combined both in equal proportion."¹

His experience in the Fever Hospital, where three hundred beds were rapidly filled with patients, was even more painful: "If the scenes of the Canongate and Cowgate could ever have been blotted from my mind, the suffering and mortality of Queensberry House would be indelible."

In January, 1827, he was elected resident clerk in the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, and resided there throughout the year, deepening these impressions of the dangers of "the moral and physical evils which corrupted the lowest strata of the working classes of our cities, and threatened to sap the energies of a larger part of the

¹ These long quotations are taken from a MS. much of which was written during the last year of Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth's life. Subsequent extracts will be indicated by a reference to the "1877 MS."

population.”¹ Nor was this knowledge of the suffering poor gained only in Edinburgh: hospital practice in Manchester in 1825, and attendance at a course of lectures on anatomy in Dublin in 1826, had given him proof that the problem was widespread.

He qualified as a physician in April, 1827, and for his thesis “*De Motu Musculorum*” he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in August of the same year, having, in the minimum time, won the highest award of his university, and every possible mark of approval from his teachers. Professor Alison, in a leaving testimonial, testified to the “uncommon proficiency” of his pupil in physiology, and spoke warmly of the “intelligence, activity and humanity” he had shown in the practice of his profession at the institutions where they had worked together.

His thoughts, guided by Edinburgh experiences, had turned to the possibility of hospital or dispensary work in Manchester, where he decided to set up in practice. He left Edinburgh in December, 1827, and took up his residence in Mosley Street, Manchester, where he remained for seven and a half years. A vacancy occurring in April, 1828, for a physician at the Manchester Infirmary, he made application, but was unsuccessful.² In the same year, however, he was elected Senior Physician at the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary, and was thus brought into contact with one of the poorest parts of Manchester, inhabited chiefly by Irish labourers and factory workers.

The evidence from his writings during the Man-

¹ A letter written in 1827 shows that the MS. of fifty years later is a faithful picture of his early reflections: “In hospitals we see the worst features of the character of men—they are, in these Golgothas, distorted by vice, the victims of misery and disease, writhing under the agony of present torture with neither philosophy nor religion to point to consolation or hope. These wards hold the vilest and most abject, the abandoned of all happiness and virtue in their worst, often their hopeless extremity. It must be a happy relief to contrast the pious resignation of the Christian with this desolation of hope or remorse.”

² A characteristic letter from his mother just before the election contains the following reference: “If it be for your good you will be successful; if not, it will be well ordered by Him who sees the end from the beginning, and who will do all His pleasure. Leave it there, but use all lawful means.”

chester period shows with great clearness how his interests moved away from purely medical questions as he became increasingly familiar with the condition and life of the poor. Thus, to the first four numbers of the *North of England Medical Journal*, a short-lived venture of which he was a promoter, he contributed five articles. His first contribution was an anonymous and vigorously written attack on the bulky volumes of Michael Thomas Sadler, in which that whole-hearted philanthropist had sought to refute, with more heart than head, the doctrine of Malthus. In the second number he printed an article on "The Physical Condition of the Poor," in which he first described a common disease among his poor patients of Ancoats—a "morbid sensibility of the stomach and intestinal canal"—which he attributed to the unhealthy conditions of their work, and the inadequate and unnourishing diet they ate. In the third number he printed a report on "Two Remarkable Cases of Disease in the Circulatory System," and an article entitled "Observations and Experiments concerning Molecular Irritation of the Lungs as one Source of Tubercular Consumption; and on Spinner's Phthisis." This work was a continuation of his Edinburgh research, and was an inquiry into the effects of the breathing, by cotton operatives, of the filaments and foreign particles set free in the factories during the process of manufacture. In the fourth number he contributed an article which directly continued his Edinburgh work, entitled "Further Experiments concerning Suspended Animation. On the Supposed Effects of the Circulation of Venous Blood in the Brain when Respiration is suspended." This paper contains the essence of his chief contribution to medical science, for in it he rebuts the then prevalent theory, taught by Bichat and others, that the cause of death, when respiration is suspended, is the noxious influence of the venous blood on the nervous system, and shows, by a number of ingenious experiments on rabbits, that the real cause of death is the arresting of the circulation in the capillaries of the pulmonary veins.

This subject was treated by him at greater length in his volume on *The Physiology, Pathology and Treatment of Asphyxia*, published in 1834 but probably completed before that date. It is a clearly written book, gathering together interesting cases from many sources, as well as containing fuller accounts of the experiments noted above and the conclusions he had worked out. The essential argument is that of the paper already described, and there are full references to and criticisms of the work of his predecessors in the same field. The value and originality of the book may be judged by the following criticism, written by Sir James Mackenzie,¹ nearly ninety years after the work appeared :

“The book on Asphyxia is one of great interest, and can be read to-day with profit. Although the advances in chemistry and physiology have cleared up many of the problems which are dealt with in his book, yet Dr. Kay's own observations are of value, and shed light on several important matters that are even to-day far from clear. Indeed, some of his experimental results seem to have been overlooked. Thus it has long been known that in asphyxia the blood flow ceases, but the reason for this is not to be found in current literature dealing with asphyxia. Dr. Kay's experiments clearly demonstrate that this cessation of the blood flow takes place in the lungs—the absence of oxygen in the blood apparently has a constricting effect on the vessels of the lungs, so that the right heart is unable to force the blood through. This offers an explanation of a number of problems not only in asphyxia, but in all forms of disease in which anoxemia is a prominent symptom, and it is a factor of considerable importance, but apparently has been overlooked.

“In his research into asphyxia he found many matters that were misunderstood, and he had to undertake experiments to find their true explanations. Thus Bichat, the celebrated French Physiologist, had taught that the venous blood contained some noxious substance that was injurious to the tissues. Dr. Kay, by a series of experiments carefully planned, and ingeniously carried out, conclusively demonstrated that there were no active agents present, and that the deleterious effect of the

¹ Author of *Diseases of the Heart*.

venous blood on the tissues, and especially on the nervous system, was simply due to absence of oxygen. This view is now accepted, and has been plentifully supported by later observers.

“It is interesting to see how Dr. Kay’s acute observations recognised phenomena at that time inexplicable, but which anticipated later discoveries. Thus, for long it had been recognised that somewhere in the left auricle the starting place of the heart’s contraction was situated, and that this chamber was the last to stop beating when death occurred—hence the term *ultima moriens* applied to it. Dr. Kay, by an ingenious experiment, showed that by depriving the left auricle of its blood supply it ceased to beat before the right auricle, and demonstrated that another part of the heart than the left auricle was capable of initiating the heart’s contraction. Later researches have shown that in the normal acting heart the contraction of the heart starts in a small collection of peculiar fibre in the superior vena cava where it debouches into the auricle, but that under abnormal circumstances—such as Dr. Kay demonstrated—the heart’s contraction can start in other places.

“His book gives a remarkably clear description of the state of knowledge ninety years ago on subjects which are to-day still the cause of much dispute, and several of his observations are still of value and have not been superseded, while some are in advance of present-day teaching.”

To the layman the most interesting part of the book is perhaps the long Preface, addressed to the Duke of Northumberland, President of the Royal Humane Society, in which are described, in simple and untechnical language, the cause of death in asphyxia and the best mode of restoring life to the apparently drowned. Some of the recommendations that had been issued by the Royal Humane Society are also criticised in it. The merits of the book were especially recognised some years later, when Dr. Kay (then Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth) was awarded the Fothergillian Gold Medal of the Royal Humane Society.¹

¹ This beautiful gold medal (by W. Wyon) and that awarded at the same time to the eminent surgeon, Mr. J. Eric Erichsen, were the two



FOTHERGILLIAN GOLD MEDAL.

By W. Wyon. Engraved on edge: "Jacobus P. Kay-Shuttleworth."
 "Societas Regalis Humana Dono Dedit Honorario, A.D. 1845."

One other medical paper calls for notice—an article on Transfusion in the *Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine*, 1834. It is rich in illustrations taken from a wide source. But these medical interests, as will now be seen, were becoming more and more merged into that larger problem of the mental and physical regeneration of a city population.

Manchester, in 1828, was an accumulation of social evils. An imperfect municipal organisation and a lack of sanitary regulations had resulted in cellar dwellings so imperfectly drained that the floors were often under water, and Dr. Kay has described how sometimes he had to walk on bricks to reach his patient's bed with dry feet. Unpaved streets, which were the receptacle of all domestic refuse, no systematic supply of water, no arterial system of drainage, no control of slaughter-houses, no protection to women and children in the factories, which were equally insanitary,—these and other factors must be put together, with all their meaning realised in human discomfort, if anybody would picture to himself the state of the poorer quarters of Manchester when Dr. Kay went there.

“In the houses of this population,” he wrote afterwards, “I worked for some years as a dispensary physician, and thus became acquainted with another form of the degradation of the workmen of great cities. The Irish, and a considerable part of the English and Scotch operatives, lived to a great extent upon oatmeal and potatoes, spending their surplus earnings on drink, and especially on whisky. This diet in itself was a

first of their kind, and were presented by Lord Morpeth at the annual meeting of the Royal Humane Society, January 14, 1845.

The Society had received a bequest from Dr. Fothergill, the produce of which was to constitute an annual or triennial medal for the best essay on the “Prevention of Shipwreck; or, the Preservation of Shipwrecked Mariners.” The secretary of the Royal Humane Society reports, in answer to a query, that to the best of his knowledge the only other person on whom the medal has been bestowed is the late Dr. Silvester, the producer of the Silvester Method of Resuscitation. The award of a medal was altered in 1885, after the opinion of counsel had been obtained, and the income is now applied for the purchase of medals for proficiency in swimming exercises, with reference to saving life from drowning. a various schools and training-ships in the United Kingdom.

prominent source of disease. The absence of proper water supply and of systematic sewerage continually spread typhoid fever. The condition of the houses and streets and the want of proper conveniences promoted the diffusion of zymotic diseases by which a large portion of the infant population perished. The work of the mothers of families in the mills, and the imperfect nursing of children in their absence, combined with these previously described causes, destroyed one half the children before they were five years of age."¹

The Reform Bill agitation seems to have aroused his interest in the importance of political reform as a step towards the great problem he had now so clearly conceived. He entered into the contest with an energy that seemed to his more conservative medical friends a misguided policy, spending himself "in making that measure understood by the people, and in making it a legislative enactment of this country."² In 1831 he published, anonymously, a *Letter to the People of Lancashire concerning the Future Representation of the Commercial Interest*. The pamphlet has the merit of pleading for representatives who shall really represent the new Lancashire created by the Industrial Revolution, the commercial Lancashire that we now accept, or are invited to accept, as the embodiment of common sense and sagacity. Although written with some fictitious detail about himself, it reveals his allegiance to Lord John Russell, and his faith in liberal Whiggism, "the enemy of exclusion and monopoly—the friend of non-intervention and peace—the unqualifying advocate of retrenchment, and the stern opponent of profligate patronage." It is the expression of a modified Benthamism, and an early promise of the message of Bright and Cobden, soon to begin their triumphant march.

This political work was interrupted by the fear of an outbreak of cholera, which, creeping westward over Europe, reached the north-eastern ports of England in 1832. None realised more clearly than Dr. Kay the

¹ 1877 MS.

² From an election speech reported in the *Preston Guardian*, January 31, 1874.

danger in which Manchester stood,¹ and it was owing largely to his exertions that precautions were taken. A voluntary committee was set up, houses were visited and insanitary conditions reported, and, in consequence, streets were scavenged and lodging-houses white-washed. Temporary hospitals were fitted up and medical officers and nurses appointed to each, Dr. Kay being placed in charge of the Knott Mill Cholera Hospital. He has described the arrival of the dreaded calamity at length :

"I had requested the younger members of the staff, charged with the visitation of the out-patients of the infirmary, to give me the earliest information of the occurrence of any cases indicating the approach of cholera. I had a scientific wish to trace the mode of its propagation, and to ascertain if possible by what means it would be introduced into the town. My purpose also was to discover whether there was any, and if so what, link of connection between the physical and social evils, to which my attention had been so long directed.

"A loop of the river Medlock swept round a group of houses lying immediately below Oxford Road, and almost on the level of the black, polluted stream. This was a colony of Irish labourers and consequently known as Irishtown. I was requested by one of the staff of the out-patients of the infirmary to visit a peculiar case in one of these cottages. He gave me no description of it as we walked thither. On my arrival in a two-roomed house, I found an Irishman lying on a bed close to the window. The temperature of his skin was somewhat lower than usual, the pulse was weak and quick. He complained of no pain. The face was rather pale, and the man much dejected. None of the characteristic symptoms of cholera had occurred, but his attendant told me that the strength had gradually declined during the day, and that, seeing no cause for it, he had formed a suspicion of contagion. I sat by the man's bed for an hour, during which the pulse became gradually weaker.

¹ The *Manchester Guardian* records week by week the rise and fall of the cholera epidemic in various centres during 1832. At last, after many prophecies that the danger is nearly over, it reports on June 16 that "three or four fatal cases have occurred in Manchester," and a week later reports a large increase of suspected cases, and complains that the Board of Health is withholding the facts from the public.

In a second hour it was almost extinct, and it became apparent that the patient would die. His wife and three children were in the room, and she was prepared by us for the too probable event. Thus the afternoon slowly passed away, and as evening approached I sent the young surgeon to have in readiness the cholera van not far away. We were surrounded by an excitable Irish population, and it was obviously desirable to remove the body as soon as possible, and then the family, and to lock up the house before any alarm was given. As twilight came on the sufferer expired without cramp or any other characteristic symptom. The wife had been soothed and she readily consented to be removed with her children to the hospital. Then suddenly the van drew up at the door, and in one minute, before the Irish were aware, drove away with its sad burden.

"No case of Asiatic cholera had occurred in Manchester, yet notwithstanding the total absence of characteristic symptoms in this case, I was convinced that the contagion had arrived, and the patient had been its victim. The Knott Mill Hospital was a cotton factory stripped of its machinery, and furnished with iron bedsteads and bedding on every floor. On my arrival there I found the widow and her three children with a nurse grouped round a fire at one end of a gloomy ward. I ascertained that all necessary arrangements had been made for their comfort. They had an evening meal; the children were put to bed near the fire, except the infant which I left lying upon its mother's lap. None of them showed any sign of disease, and I left the ward to take some refreshment. On my return, or at a later visit before midnight, the infant had been sick in its mother's lap, had made a faint cry and had died. The mother was naturally full of terror and distress, for the child had had no medicine, had been fed only from its mother's breast, and, consequently, she could have no doubt that it perished from the same causes as its father. I sat with her and the nurse by the fire very late into the night. While I was there the children did not wake, nor seem to be in any way disturbed, and at length I thought I might myself seek some repose. When I returned about six o'clock in the morning, another child had severe cramps with some sickness, and while I stood by the bedside, it died. Then, later, the third and eldest child had all the characteristic

symptoms of cholera and perished in one or two hours. In the course of the day the mother likewise suffered from a severe and rapid succession of the characteristic symptoms and died, so that within twenty-four hours the whole family was extinct, and it was not known that any other case of cholera had occurred in Manchester or its vicinity. . . .

"I believe that I visited the houses in which the first two hundred and fifty cases occurred, and took detailed notes of the condition of the families and of all the previous associations of the persons infected. I found that this investigation led me to the least healthy, the poorest and most neglected parts of the town, and I consequently found established in my mind an immediate connection between all the class of causes injuriously affecting the health of the population and the conditions which facilitated the spread of the contagion of cholera. . . . The ravages of cholera in some of the worst haunts of vice and want were occasionally terrible. I remember a night scene in one of the courts on the steep banks of the Irwell, in which sixty of the most wretched of the dregs of the population lived, of whom I think twenty-seven died before the morning."¹

This vivid narrative does not record the continuous and exhausting labours, through several months, of Dr. Kay and his colleagues. In the hospital and in the slums they toiled against what seemed an unassailable foe, and their difficulties were multiplied by the ignorance and fears of the victims. Not seldom had they to stay and persuade families that it was safer to remove an infected relative to the hospital, for popular suspicion was easily aroused, and, in one case, swelled into such fury that a mob gutted one of the cholera hospitals. If the scenes of the Canongate and Cowgate were "indelible," the epidemic at Manchester, with the scenes which twenty-four years later he declared were "too shocking for description,"² left upon his mind an even deeper impression.

Some important results followed. The first was the

¹ 1877 MS.

² In an address to the Chatham Street School of Medicine, Manchester, January, 1856.

publication of his noteworthy pamphlet, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*, which included the results of the inquiries made during the epidemic, and also discussed the chief of the other causes affecting the health and well-being of the population, raising such fundamental questions as the sanitary condition of the factories, excessive hours of labour, the influence of the discomfort of the homes in promoting intemperance, the influence of the corn laws and bad fiscal legislation in increasing the cost of living and generating social discontent, the causes of infant mortality, the mal-administration of the poor laws, the abuse of private and public charity, and, over and above all, the ignorance and barbarism of a large part of the population, to remove which there was no adequate provision of schools.

Both title and contents of the book mark his acceptance of the theory that moral and physical evils interact and must be attacked together, and so conscious is he of the magnitude of the problem that he demands "immediate legislative interference" as the first step towards a solution. It is full of striking statistics, and written with passionate eloquence, constituting one of the most striking and terrible accounts of industrialism, and its meaning in human life and suffering, that have ever been written. It contains haunting pictures of common lodging-houses, cellar-habitations, congested little houses built back to back, without yard, or privy or receptacle of refuse, unsewered and unswept streets, to the general pollution of which stinking bone works, tanneries, slaughter-houses and tripe houses add their own filthy effluvia. Gin shops and taverns abound, and the life of the people, old and young, at work and play, is presented in all its ugliness.

Nor is the treatment of social and political problems less bold. Against the ingrained pessimism of the view that "ignorance, labour and misery," are the inevitable and unchangeable condition of the poor he asserts that the evils he has described, far from being

the necessary result of the commercial system, will ruin it if they are not cured. Cheap labour, as instanced by the Irish immigrants,¹ easily becomes expensive labour and a burden on the community. The need is for drastic measures: free trade, the abolition of the corn laws, the removal of burdens on commerce so that it will be made profitable enough to pay for other reforms, and, above all, for education, not in the grudging measure then bestowed as a charity on the poor, and usually limited to instruction in reading and writing, but an education that shall embrace all the needs of a life.

"The education of the poor," he declares, "must be substantial. The mere elementary rudiments of knowledge are chiefly useful as a means to an end. The poor man will not be made a much better member of society by being only taught to read and write. His education should comprise such branches of general knowledge as would prove sources of rational amusement, and would thus elevate his tastes above a companionship in licentious pleasures."

So he looks not only for schools but for libraries, mechanics' institutes, provident associations, instruction in natural science, in political science, in domestic and social relations, in the relations between employer and employees, and between different grades of society—an education that shall be life-long and many-sided, adapted to occupation and to leisure, to market and to home. Having realised the complexity of the problem, he trusts no speedy and simple panacea; the cure will be a slow and laborious process.

The pamphlet attracted considerable attention, and a second edition was soon called for. It stimulated a group of intelligent Manchester citizens² to form, in

¹ In 1834 the Irish population of Manchester was 30,000 in a total of 200,000. See "Progress of Manchester since 1832," reprinted in *Four Periods of Public Education*.

² Among them may be named Sir Benjamin Heywood, Sir Thomas Potter, Mr. G. W. Wood, Mr. W. R. Greg, Mr. H. Romilly, and Mr. William Langton, and a tribute is paid to some of these in *Four Periods of Public Education*, pp. 93, 94. See also a paper read by the first

1833, with the help of Dr. Kay, the Manchester Statistical Society,¹ and as this was the forerunner of similar organisations throughout the country,² and for long the pattern, the event had a national significance, and marks the beginning of a new method in handling social problems. The society appointed paid agents to investigate the conditions of the people, and this more searching inquiry, extended through half a dozen towns, confirmed the conclusions of the pamphlet which had originated the investigation. The second inquiry it undertook was an elaborate one, into the nature and extent of the means existing for elementary education in Manchester, Liverpool, and other Lancashire towns,³ and the statistics thus obtained were more exact and more exhaustive than any previously obtained, and were abundantly used in public discussions both in and out of Parliament. They served to correct also the statistics compiled by Lord Kerry's Committee in 1833.⁴

Dr. Kay received considerable help in the work of the Statistical Society from Mr. Poulett Thomson, in whose parliamentary election for Manchester in 1832 he had taken a prominent part, and who, as Vice-President of the Board of Trade, organised a special statistical

named before the Statistical Section of the British Association in 1835, where a resolution of approval of the methods adopted by the society was passed.

¹ Dr. Kay was the first treasurer, Sir Benjamin Heywood first president, and Mr. Langton first secretary.

² The London Statistical Society was formed in March, 1834.

³ See *Report* of the Manchester Statistical Society, 1834-5. A report on the State of Education in Manchester was printed in 1835, and also one on Bury. In 1836 appeared reports on Salford and on Liverpool, and in 1837 on York. Convenient references will be found in *Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education*, by S. E. Maltby. The Central Society for Education, in its first publication (1836), praised the scientific value of the Manchester work, and the Select Committee on Education of the Poorer Classes in England and Wales (1838) testified to the "substantial accuracy" of the returns made.

⁴ The *Report* on the State of Education in Manchester is a pamphlet of forty-six pages, and contains valuable descriptions of the dame and common day schools of the time. It subjected the Kerry Report to a searching test, and found that, in the township of Manchester alone, 181 schools and 8,646 scholars had been omitted, in spite of a double return in the case of three schools, and the inclusion of three alleged Sunday schools which the society found had never existed!

department in his office. Dr. Chalmers of Edinburgh became, at Dr. Kay's invitation, a corresponding member of the society, and wrote frequently to him on social problems. At the end of 1833 the Government sent Mr. G. C. Lewis, who was then engaged on an inquiry into the condition of the Irish poor, to ascertain the views of Dr. Kay, who was thus brought into intimate association with a wide range of activities directed to the same problem. He was untiring in his efforts to obtain first-hand information, and visited, at various times, almost every part of the cotton district, and also the lead-mining districts of the Peak,¹ besides conducting correspondence with professional friends interested in the social conditions of more distant towns. This personal study of sanitary questions led him to the conclusion that

"there was an obvious need of a municipal organisation possessed of considerable powers of control and of local taxation for the public benefit, to correct the consequences of half a century of neglect. The nature of the powers required, the character of the municipal government, and the mode of its operation occupied much of my thoughts. I had excellent opportunities to consult some of the most active members of the improvement commissioners of Manchester, and I occasionally visited London, where I was introduced by Mr. Nassau Senior to some of the principal political economists, and among them to Mr. James Mill and his son Mr. John Stuart Mill. In the society of these able and accomplished men all the questions connected with the imperfect organisation of towns were discussed almost solely from a social and sanitary point of view, and without reference to the questions affecting the balance of political power which had ultimately much to do with the removal of the privileges of the old corporations and the establishment of representative municipal government. . . .

"My reading and inquiries in collateral subjects were extensive, and I gradually became possessed with

¹ Dr. Kay read a report on his investigations in the Peak District, and many other papers on various subjects, but no trace of them remains.

the conviction that the condition of the great mass of the people was one of the surest tests of the wisdom and efficiency of the government, and the indispensable basis of the stability of institutions. So that, whether I would or not, and almost before I was aware, I not only became convinced of the necessity of a great reform which should bring into the front rank of topics for public discussion every question affecting the well-being of the manual labour class, but I entered eagerly into these discussions."¹

In 1833, also, Dr. Kay was active in the founding of the Manchester Provident Society. It has had a strikingly successful history in encouraging the virtue of self-help and forethought, and in its earlier activities it sent voluntary collectors from house to house to collect the transient savings of the working-class for the purchase of clothing, furniture, and fuel, or until more permanent deposits were placed in a savings bank.² The society is still in existence, though its activities have changed. In all this social work special mention should be made of Dr. Kay's friend, William Langton,³ a Manchester banker, who took an active part later in the founding of the Manchester Athenæum, and in the movement for a local university. He was a man of many accomplishments, an enlightened citizen, optimistic and warm-hearted, shrewd and far-seeing. The friendship thus formed in the pursuit of a common interest lasted a lifetime.

One other publication of Dr. Kay's while in Manchester must be noticed, because it emphasises a principle of his social philosophy which he held with the strongest conviction. It is contained in his paper, read before the Statistical Society and printed in 1834, on "Defects in the Constitution of Dispensaries," and is a protest against indiscriminate charity and over-legislation.

"Universal interference of an officious benevolence," he declares, "creates a reliance on assistance, and a

¹ 1877 MS.

² See *Four Periods of Public Education*, p. 145.

³ See *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, art. "W. Langton."

craving for support, whose demands it will ultimately be unable to supply. None should be assisted in whom the relief will not encourage industry and virtue, or who are not, from age and accident, deprived of all chance of making independent exertions."¹

He instances cases of misapplied charity which deprive the poor of "forethought, frugality, and prudence," and seduce them from "manly and virtuous efforts to a sickly reliance on the misdirected sympathies of the wealthy." The argument is applied to the new dispensaries in Manchester, which he held should be made self-supporting.

"Let not our artisans be made lean and supple sycophants cringing to obtain from external aid that which they have neither strength nor virtue to achieve for themselves; but let us rather encourage them in the exercise of those virtues which will teach them self-respect, and we shall soon discover that a sober, industrious, and intelligent population is as peaceful as it is strong."

Here was a clear limit to legislative activity and State interference, necessary as this might be to abolish abuses and established evils, and henceforward we shall find the arousing of independent action, self-respect, and self-direction among the chief aims of Dr. Kay's official labours.

This increasing activity in questions which roused political differences and prejudices was not favourable to his success as a physician. His correspondence with politicians in 1833 and 1834 shows how intimately he had concerned himself in the fortunes of party conflict, and professional friends remonstrated with him on the danger he was incurring. Already, in the early part of 1833, an old Edinburgh colleague, Dr. J. A. Symonds,² had playfully warned him against amusing himself with

¹ Applications of this principle will be seen in later pages, and in varied circumstances. The most direct instance is to be found in the conditions of relief during the Lancashire Cotton Famine, Chap. IX. p. 279.

² The father of John Addington Symonds.

politics—unless it were a matter of no importance whether he got patients or not—and then, in a post-script, had begged him to send a newspaper when it contained one of his speeches! A more serious letter, a year later, from a Leeds colleague told him that he had given direct offence by plain speaking, and that “a mere drudge and dull, plodding routinist is thought a safer and more judicious practitioner than the man who writes and speculates, especially out of his profession.” Direct proof of opposition was forthcoming in a second unsuccessful application for appointment as physician to the Manchester Infirmary, notwithstanding his exceptional qualifications and testimonials from some of the most eminent medical men in the kingdom. The consequences are best told in his own words:¹

“I began to feel that my career as a physician in Manchester was likely to be closed by the denial to me of the chief means of scientific study. My experience and inquiries as to the sanitary condition of great towns were nearly complete: I had a wide interest and deep sympathy with all the questions affecting the condition of the working-classes: I was impelled by these convictions to embark in political discussions: I was denied the local means of scientific inquiry within the strict limits of my profession—yet I should have persevered with the preparation of a systematic work on municipal government and sanitary reform if my health had not given way. I had spent my life in intense exertion, and that in scenes and air which did not recruit the physical energies, and also in the contemplation of misery and suffering which even on a young and hopeful man must have had a depressing influence, for I was by no means a passive spectator of these phenomena. The purely scientific spirit was even at length over-mastered by sympathy. I could not refrain from wishing to be in some degree, however humble, the instrument of a beneficial change. It was therefore with great disappointment that I found my energies exhausted. I was advised that to continue my work among the poor of great towns would be fatal to me, and that, if I desired to prolong my life, it was indis-

¹ 1877 MS.

pensable that I should abandon these pursuits, seek a complete change of scene and occupation, live much in the open air, and divert my thoughts from subjects which had become a source of exhaustion. . . .

"While I was considering the course by which I could hope to regain my health, an offer was made to me by the Poor Law Commission (at the suggestion of Mr. Nassau Senior), to appoint me as Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in charge of the eastern counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. As far as my health was concerned, I should exchange the densest and most foul parts of cities for long daily journeys in the open air in rural districts. There would be a complete change of scene and associations. I should at once have to grapple with a great social evil without the removal of which no scheme of education or of sanitary or fiscal improvement could raise the condition of the people. Moreover, I as yet knew little of the agricultural districts. . . .

"I did not hesitate. I resolved to exchange my career as a physician for public administration. . . ."

Thus, in the summer of 1835, his Manchester life was brought to an end: it had been his seven hard years of apprenticeship, and an unconscious preparation for other work.

Additional Note.—It is convenient to place here a long extract from Dr. Kay's MS. which describes, from first-hand observation, the growth of industrial Lancashire, and also shows how near he came to doing pioneer work in an entirely different field. It provides an interesting footnote to the history of sanitary and municipal reform, and illustrates the fertility of ideas and the tireless energy of Dr. Kay in the wide field of inquiry he had covered whilst living a busy professional life:—

"I had, from my early youth, been familiar with the rapid growth of the handloom-weaving hamlets, the

manufacturing villages and towns of the cotton districts. The impulse given to my inquiries by what I had witnessed in Edinburgh and Manchester of the condition of the people, led me to revisit almost every part of the cotton district. The first cotton mills had generally been moved by water power, and were consequently built in the river valleys. About these was commonly grouped a hamlet of houses. As soon as the steam-engine was introduced not only the number of mills increased on the banks of rivers, but also on the small tributary streams. Where the facilities for obtaining land were great and the access by roads was convenient, several mills would be built within a short distance of each other on some common watercourse, each surrounded by its hamlet of cottages. Five or six of such factories would form a long straggling village. As each manufactory with its adjacent dwellings had been built as a separate enterprise, there was little or no combination of effort for sanitary purposes. Streets and houses were irregularly disposed. Where there was any sufficient house-drainage, it was carried directly into the stream. There was the same want of convenient structure and decent outward accommodation as in the houses. Ashes and other ejecta were too commonly cast into the street or into the river. A town was often little more than an aggregation of these groups of factories and cottages of operatives. The main road became the principal street, and, as necessity arose, shops, taverns and inns were built on either side of it. In the narrow valleys of Rossendale, of the Roche, the Hyndburn and the Darwen, the space on which these towns could be built was contracted; and often considerable towns grew up at the bottom of a deep valley surrounded by hills of considerable elevation, so that a great dome of smoke overhung them when the air was still. There was no municipal organisation to correct any sanitary evils. Except the main road the streets were generally left unpaved, the house drainage was most imperfect, there was seldom any other outlet for the main drainage than the rivulets which fed the principal stream. A great town of twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants would thus gradually group itself round foundries, machine-works, sometimes print- or dye-works, tanneries with immense adjacent reservoirs, size manufactories and even lime-

kilns, besides the cotton and woollen factories. Having been built without any common plan, except what had been determined by pre-existing roads, watercourses and rivulets, many of these towns had irregular and tortuous streets, and thoroughfares often contracted where the traffic was greatest, few or no open spaces, and seldom or never any systematic water-supply. . . .

"[The breakdown in health in 1834] occurred at a critical period of my inquiries, for I had turned from the examination of the defects of municipal arrangements to an examination of the best existing examples of the arterial drainage of towns however partial, and of the sources whence they derived any supply of water however inadequate, and the means by which it was conveyed and distributed. These questions had not then become the familiar problems of scientific engineers. I had to grope my way from one imperfect example to another. Time also was needed in which the conviction of the magnitude of the existing wants could be established, and public opinion be brought to confess the imminence of great social dangers. At that time there would have been no hope that any municipality, though clothed with sufficient powers, would expend the vast sums which have been most wisely applied in many great cities to their drainage and water supply. Nor would engineers probably have then been ready with well-devised schemes for a sufficient supply of pure water and for carrying away the sewage. My imperfect and incomplete investigations were cut short by the collapse of my health and strength. I entertained the hope that I might recommence them after an interval of repose, and for a while entertained the idea of foreign travel with a view to examine the ancient systems by which water was supplied to the Roman cities, and the expedients adopted by modern engineers. But the course of this narrative will show how my efforts were diverted into another sphere. . . . After I found myself likely to be absorbed in the efforts of the Government to establish a system of national education, I recommended Mr. Edwin Chadwick¹ to undertake the

¹ Edwin (afterwards Sir Edwin) Chadwick, a friend and disciple of Bentham, did more than any other man to arouse the national conscience on the question of public health and sanitation. It was owing to his advocacy that the first Board of Health was established in 1848, and it was largely owing to his courage and zeal that the opposition of vested interests was broken down.

prosecution of this investigation into town drainage and water supply, and other connected questions of sanitary improvement. Mr. Chadwick had displayed rare ability and public spirit in the exposure of the abuses in the administration of the old Poor Laws and in the suggestion of remedies. He possessed singular sagacity and skill to avail himself of all the indications in existing arrangements by which the most effectual system could be discovered. The result justified my suggestion. It was at once embraced by Mr. Chadwick, and his reports on the questions involved in the sanitary condition of towns were the basis of early legislation and of subsequent beneficial administration."

CHAPTER II

ASSISTANT POOR LAW COMMISSIONER

THE Poor Law Amendment Act, passed by the reformed House of Commons in 1834, and based upon the report of the Royal Commission set up in 1832, was an expression of the prevailing Benthamite doctrine that the aim of legislation was the promotion of human happiness and the sweeping away of vested interests which checked man's desire for a fuller life. The antecedent system of granting relief had fallen into such abuse as to convert "a race of freemen into a race of slaves unconscious of their slavery," and the new Act set up a central Poor Law Board at Somerset House, with three Commissioners and a Secretary,¹ who were to promote the formation of poor law unions and impose the "work-house test" in the application of relief. An Assistant Commissioner was appointed in each district to supervise the activities of the newly-constituted Boards of Guardians, to advise their officials, to disseminate information, and to make detailed reports and inquiries.

Dr. Kay accepted the proffered Assistant Commissionership, and on July 11, 1835, he was invested with "the like powers and authorities of inquiring into all matters, questions, and things relating to the poor and their relief" as were enjoyed by the Commissioners themselves. The change of work was a sharp trial to his mother, now a widow with three young sons, yet in her self-effacing devotion she wrote that his new career

¹ The first Commissioners were T. Frankland Lewis, J. G. Shaw Lefevre, and G. Nicholls, and the first secretary Edwin Chadwick, with all of whom Dr. Kay enjoyed long intimacy.

would offer a better outlet for her son's ability, that the hand of God was in it, and that she did not believe that Manchester would again satisfy him. Her letters, now resumed after a long interval, were no longer rich with advice: the rôles had changed and the son had become the adviser. From time to time the family was reunited by mother and sister taking a house temporarily in some place within reach of his district.

His first report was dated eleven days from the time of his appointment, and was the result of an inquiry into the "Migration of Labourers from the Southern Rural Counties of England to the Cotton Districts of Lancashire."¹ This was no new question to him, for he had already become acquainted with some families from Buckinghamshire who had been brought to Lancashire by Mr. Edmund Ashworth and Mr. R. H. Greg, two philanthropic manufacturers, and has thus described the resulting contrast of the juxtaposition of the two types of people:

"There was a great want of the labour of women and children in the cotton districts. Consequently some large families, dependent on the poor rates and having children of ages suitable for factory work, were selected and sent from Buckinghamshire under contracts ensuring them an immediately great increase of wages, with prospectively what appeared to them almost fabulous abundance. I had visited the comfortable cottages in which they were housed. The parents seemed almost bewildered with the restless energy of the neighbours—astonished at the punctuality required—shocked with the abrupt manners of their fellow operatives, their self-assertion and apparent rudeness. Certainly, if the dread of the want of food and clothing at home had not haunted them, they would not have remained among associations to them so stern and unsympathetic. But in the children, the better and more abundant food had aroused some vital energy. They had gradually become more equal to standing twelve hours in the day: to the monotony of their work: and to the sustained attention required. As they acquired manual skill their wages had improved,

¹ Printed in the *First Annual Report* of the Poor Law Commission.

and at length they had begun with the elasticity of youth to be happy in the wild scenes at first so strange. The parents became resigned to the change for their sake, and in consideration of the increasing comfort of their homes. But their meek, listless faces were in singular contrast with the eager, earnest expression of the Lancashire mill operative. The fathers were grievously round-shouldered and crippled with rheumatism, and the mothers worn, patient, and subdued.

"I knew that in the eastern counties the weaving of crapes, stuffs, and silks introduced by the large immigrations of the Protestant refugees from the Netherlands and France had for many years been in a declining condition. I therefore expected to find a mass of these hand-loom weavers with little or no work even though ill-paid—unfit for agricultural labour—therefore largely dependent on the poor rates, and stagnating in their former seats of prosperous industry—a surplus population suffering from want. These facts I knew from my general reading, and the reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Poor Laws. It at once occurred to me that the introduction of the New Poor Law would be greatly facilitated by the removal of as large a part of this unfortunate population as could be induced to emigrate to Lancashire."¹

So Dr. Kay now made inquiries in twenty-nine centres of the cotton industry, and showed that the rapid growth of trade would call for a large increase in workers. Pointing out, as he had done in 1832, the ruinous social results of Irish immigration, he recommended the establishment of a regulated and controlled system of migration from the South, where there was a surplus of labourers, and described favourably the increased earnings, superior cottages, and greater comforts enjoyed by the nineteen families who had ventured into this new mode of life. The Commissioners approved his recommendations, and he returned to Lancashire to arrange the terms of the contracts into which mill owners should enter. Subsequently, a special migration officer was appointed, and his reports of 1836 and 1837 show the success of the

¹ 1877 MS.

undertaking. The total number of migrated workers in two years was estimated at 10,000, and an overwhelming majority of them had prospered in their new homes. The largest number came from the counties where Dr. Kay was at work.

His district included the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and the rough independence of the Lancashire cotton operatives, whom he described later¹ as "a race full of rare qualities, hardy, broken to toil, full of loyalty to the traditions of family and place," he exchanged for the poisoned dependence of the agricultural labourers in the Eastern Counties. He has described the economic conditions which he found there :

"The counties of Norfolk and Suffolk presented many most various and even opposed examples of management of estates and farms. Throughout the wide possessions of Mr. Coke of Holkham everything had been accomplished which the most liberal and wise application of capital could effect. The farms were extensive—the tenants intelligent and possessed of abundant resources—the farmhouses and homesteads had been almost everywhere rebuilt to meet the requirements of the most improved modes of cultivation—the cottages of the labourers had been improved and a few roods of potato or garden ground were often attached to them. The enterprise required for these improvements had necessarily combated and modified the prevalent pauperism, which was also resisted by the good sense and excellent disposition of the tenantry. The north-east and east of Norfolk abounds in the parks and seats of a wealthy gentry, and also the south-east, bordering on Suffolk. In like manner, round Bury St. Edmunds and along the Orwell, Suffolk is almost covered with parks and demesnes. Within the immediate influence of the resident gentry the worst features of the scale allowance and labour-rate systems were often mitigated, and the condition of the labourer was improved. But the fatal social disease had, nevertheless, crept even to the doors of the most splendid mansions like a pestilential mist, and, in spite of the most earnest exertions of public-spirited and active magistrates, took away all health from the relations of capital and labour.

¹ See *Four Periods of Public Education*, pp. 100–101.

"There remained what seemed to me a hereditary taint which had been transmitted from the last influences of serfdom under the Tudor sovereigns. The labourers were still practically *adscripti glebæ*. If they were not actually conveyed with the land as a part of its chattels, they had no power and scarcely the will to separate themselves from the soil on which they had been bred and reared, and which their fathers had tilled. Having practically thus lost the freedom of independent labourers they had lost with that liberty the spirit and energy which alone could have enabled them to improve their position. Though, therefore, they were better off on well-managed estates, the quality of the rural labourer remained little changed. He had a slouching gait, a depressed expression, little activity or energy, and his strength and vital force were far less than what I had been accustomed to observe in the operatives of the North. . . .

"The wages of labour gradually fell as the population stagnated within its parochial boundary. Losing all healthful enterprise, few or none sought their fortunes elsewhere, and the miserable wages of seven to nine shillings a week, even when eked out with the harvest allowance, were insufficient for the well-being of a family. . . . Step by step was built up the allowance system. . . . The weekly wages had a tendency to fall, and the parish allowance to rise. . . . The progress of degeneracy was rapid, until many parishes were burdened with a sullen, listless, incapable, and demoralised body of labourers which they had to maintain whether they were disposed to work or not. If the tenant farmers coerced this inert mass their ricks burst into flame."¹

So radical a change as the new Act involved was obstructed not only by the dispossessed paupers, but also by the dead weight of public opinion, by ignorance, by prejudice against change, and by fear of increased rates, and the Assistant Commissioners were beset with a hundred local difficulties in establishing the machinery for the election of guardians, the appointment of clerks, medical officers, and auditors, in settling disputes, and in smoothing out the difficulties that arose

¹ 1877 MS.

between the new Boards and Somerset House. Local newspapers expressed the grievances of anonymous correspondents, and Dr. Kay did not escape the trivial criticisms of the type "who trespass upon the columns of your paper not without great reluctance."

The first winter of 1835 was approached with misgiving.

"We shall all have occasion for the exercise of our best faculties this winter, or I am much mistaken," wrote Mr. Nicholls to Dr. Kay in September. "There is a long and dreary six months before us in which we must be prepared to cope with difficulties and pressure in every direction. With efficient unions and workhouses this might be readily and successfully met, but we shall have to fight with imperfect workhouses, and loosely constituted unions."

Plans were made for every emergency, and so serious was the outlook in Suffolk that an appeal was made by the Commissioners to Lord John Russell to increase the military and police forces in that county.

The private letters received by Dr. Kay from the Commissioners are rich in approval of his work. As early as September he was urged to husband his strength. When pressure of duties compelled him to threaten "a more concise method of communicating with them," they replied that they relied on his judgment, but pleaded that he should not "leave them in the dark." Early in 1836 he took over the county of Norfolk, a charge hastened by the ill-health of the first officer, Sir E. W. Parry, and was specially warned by the Commissioners of certain troublesome localities. After two months they wrote to say that they saw "with great satisfaction the dawning of an improved state of feeling in that ill-conditioned place." Letters from Joseph Hume¹ also testify to the success with which Dr. Kay routed the malcontents, and describe

¹ Hume was keenly interested in the successful working of the Act, and in a letter to Dr. Kay spoke of it as "in principle and in practice the best and most complete measure for social regeneration which the Whigs have carried . . . the first real and efficient step towards the regeneration of our pauperised and demoralised population."

how the guardians at one union had met, determined not to submit to his "dictation," but that his tactics had "quite disarmed the opposition." Mr. Frankland Lewis, the Chairman of the Commission, wrote many letters of which the following extract is typical :

"The confidence which the Board collectively has in your most valuable assistance is exceeded by nothing but the individual satisfaction which I myself derive from communicating with you, and being intimately cognisant of all your proceedings."

The fullest account of the conditions which Dr. Kay found in Suffolk and in Norfolk is given in his first annual report,¹ a valuable social document. Dependence for generations on the poor rate had brought about a distaste for work and an insolence of bearing which resulted in the wanton destruction of property and even violence to workhouse officials. He quotes a letter from the governor of a workhouse in his area which gives a concrete picture of the state of those places when he went there :

"I found considerable breaches made in the walls of the main building, brick floors torn up, fire-places torn out, chimney-breasts demolished, door-frames torn away and burned, and window-frames removed and destroyed. The glass was broken in every direction ; there was scarcely a whole window in the house. The windows of the dining-hall were so much broken by the practice of throwing stones at the governor as he was passing through the hall, that the meals of the inmates could not be served excepting by daylight, as no candle could be kept lighted in the room. The repairs of the breaches and damages in the house and out-buildings cannot have cost much less than £300."

Imposture was rife, and one old couple, whose private fortune was not inconsiderable, were in receipt of parish pay, and yet were found to possess

"six bureaus and chests of drawers . . . ten gowns and twelve petticoats. She had also twenty-five pairs of

¹ Poor Law Commission, *Second Annual Report*, pp. 143-194.

stockings, the gift of some charity. They had ten Bibles; two of these Bibles, three Prayer Books and one Testament they had obtained from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, quite new, and apparently never opened."

So deeply ingrained was the expectancy of pauper pay that by the majority it was regarded as a birth-right, and paupers were better off than labourers. The old parish workhouses were the receptacle of

"age, vice, disease and infirmity. The aged and infirm and the infants were promiscuously mingled with sturdy, able-bodied paupers, idiots, and the sick, in groups which presented to the eye only a picture of common misery or depravity. In such houses the aged and infirm were tormented by their co-mates in want, the sick were left to waste the wretched remnant of their lives with little care or sympathy; the able-bodied pauper lounged in listless apathy with the idiot over the fire. The sexes could scarcely be said to be separated at night in the miserable and ill-arranged apartments. The children had no school, but marauded in the neighbouring fields. The rest of the mass festered in idleness and vacancy."

Nor were the so-called Houses of Industry, which had been built in the incorporated Hundreds to enable paupers to contribute towards the cost of the maintenance, in any better case. They were costly in upkeep, lax in discipline, and extravagant in food, resulting in open thefts within doors, and a train of evils greater, almost, than those they were intended to cure. They

"were often inhabited by a very few aged, infirm, and sick poor, by orphans and the mothers of illegitimate children with their infants. Large lofty wards of great structure were often empty. Yet even in such houses I found that the most corrupt practices lurked."¹

¹ These incorporations could only be dissolved with the consent of a certain number of occupiers rated to the poor, and while many had been closed in Kent and Sussex, the first Commissioners in the Eastern Counties had found it impossible to succeed against them. Dr. Kay relates in a MS. how the Kent Commissioner told him that the method was that

These and other abuses are traced in the report to an unfortunate interpretation of the statute of Elizabeth which had ordered the overseers "to set the poor on work."¹ As early as 1604, in spite of previous custom, the overseers had begun to see in the phrase a compulsion on themselves to provide work for the poor, and from this shifting of the responsibility from the individual to the community had come idleness, loss of independence, habitual pauperism. The principle Dr. Kay had emphasised in 1834,² violated by the setting up of free dispensaries, was confirmed a thousandfold by the state of the pauper population of Norfolk and Suffolk. Guided by this principle, he condemned the granting of free medical relief to the sick, one of the concessions retained by the new Poor Law, and suggested in its place independent medical clubs from which the poor might get medical aid at a nominal cost of membership. Of the sound principles of the new Act he had no doubts, and his first report closed with the triumphant quoting of letters received from the Boards of Guardians in his district, testifying to the successes already won: the poor rate had fallen, manners and morals had improved, drinking had decreased, and the able-bodied were seeking work and performing it with a strangely new zeal.

A letter written in June, 1836, reveals the mental and physical effects upon Dr. Kay of his new duties:

"My two counties are now nearly organised, and the success which attends the measures is an abundant reward for the exertion which has preceded it. The effect of the law is almost magical, and I may confess to you privately that I have lived a new life of high moral and intellectual enjoyment in effecting and witnessing this mighty change. . . . These avocations have agreed

of accepting no refusal, and this method he adopted: "Having the power to examine on oath," he continues, "I soon extracted the heart out of the mystery of their abuses. Such investigations were not conducted without exciting much public notice and discussion."

¹ For an account of the poor law system, see Sir G. Nicholls' *History of the English Poor Law*; and for the interpretation of the clause referred to, see vol. i. chap. iv. and vol. ii. chap. xiv.

² Chap. I. p. 29.

with my health. I may say I am quite robust. I usually travel 250 or 300 miles every week in an open carriage, and live almost on bread and water. The consequence is I am strong as a horse. . . . Though I seldom visit my home for more than one day in a fortnight, that day is a sort of domestic sabbath. . . . I have derived an almost unqualified and unalloyed satisfaction from my pursuits."

Yet the difficulties were incessant, and public criticism of the Act and its administration had been rife from the outset. Corrupt practices had been exposed. Self-important guardians and officious masters had increased the unpopularity of the new law. The change had pressed heavily on the poor, and had created serious hardships. The separation of man and wife was fiercely resented, and the workhouse was named the "Bastille," and became an object of hatred and of fear among the poor. We can still feel the depth of this emotion in the pages of *Oliver Twist*, which began to appear in 1837, and the passion then aroused seems likely to outlive the workhouse itself, and has sunk deep into the national mind.

In the House of Commons various attacks were made upon the Act and upon the Commissioners, and Dr. Kay was engaged more than once in investigating charges of cruelty.¹ A motion by Mr. Walter² on February 24, 1837, brought forth a committee of inquiry, which stirred even more the troubled waters. "Nothing," wrote a well-informed chairman of a Board of Guardians to Dr. Kay, "is too low nor too worthless in point of character and credit to be admitted as evidence against the Board of Guardians—unsatisfied paupers, rejected applicants, and discarded servants have all been enlisted in the cause." The committee of inquiry found that, although the Act had brought in a period of transition which involved some hardships, "it had permanently improved the condition of the

¹ Poor Law Commission, *Second Annual Report*, pp. 519-525, 638-640.

² Proprietor of the *Times*.

poor." The successful revolt of St. Pancras against the Commissioners served to increase the general suspicion; but, on the other side, the Boards of Guardians themselves began to testify in increasing numbers to the benefits they had received.¹

Dr. Kay's interest in the workhouse children was aroused at an early date, and his attention to their special problem became increasingly prominent. Mr. Edwin Chadwick had requested him, in 1835, to make a report on the subject of the compulsory apprenticeship of pauper children, and he devoted a third part of his first report to the question. He denounced the evils of a system which compelled occupiers to receive a child apprentice, or to pay a fine which was used as a bribe to induce some employer in another district to accept the victim. He found that it created a wrong relationship between master and apprentice; it tempted the wrong kind of employer, and brought in its train untold suffering for the boy and often worse for the girl, who, if she did not run away and return to the workhouse, frequently sank into a condition from which there was little hope of rescue.

"In numerous cases they absconded to escape from a condition created in part by their own untutored helplessness or savagery, and in part by the selfishness and severity of their masters or mistresses. Frequently they swelled the increasing vagabond population and the ranks of vice and crime."

The problem, therefore, was to abolish the premium, which tempted unsuitable and ill-disposed employers, and in its place to make the apprentice sufficiently attractive and useful to the suitable employer. How was this to be achieved? The answer was apparent to him as soon as the problem was analysed: the pauper child could be prepared for a life of honest independence only by an education that was *moral* and *useful*, so that

¹ A later refutation of the charges against the Poor Law may be seen in a vigorous speech by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, March 20, 1838.

the effects of the unfortunate beginning might be neutralised, and the right employers be induced to secure the services of these children without the artificial aid of a premium. And, inasmuch as the guardians were *in loco parentis* to the majority of workhouse children, because an overwhelmingly large number of them were orphans, bastards, or the children of parents in gaol or incapacitated in some way from accepting their responsibility, the duty of the guardians was clear. They must so educate the young in the workhouses that the way of escape to independent labour lay open and desirable. The point is worth emphasising, for Dr. Kay accepted the consequences of his position more fully than his contemporaries, and urged that the education of the pauper child should be a better one than that offered to the children of the independent poor. This point of view is the more striking in him because he opposed so ruthlessly the provision of luxuries and undue comfort for the paupers: in food, clothing, and lodging their lot must be hard; but so great was the handicap of the pauper child, so necessary was a remedy, that education must provide a cure for a disease that seemed to many to be hereditary and incurable.

The guardians themselves were lukewarm, or hostile to such a view. In February, 1836, the Bedford Union sought permission "to have writing omitted as part of the schoolmaster's instruction, and that he teach reading only,"¹ on the ground that the inmates should not have greater advantages than poor children outside. Some Assistant Commissioners reported educational progress in their districts,² and the Commissioners recommended the employment of better teachers;³ but it is true to say that workhouse education at this time was haphazard, intermittent, and thoroughly inefficient.

"There was scarcely a pretence of schooling or instruction in industry. The children were in the charge of paupers. . . . The Poor Law Amendment Act made

¹ Poor Law Commission, *Second Annual Report*, p. 529.

² *Ibid.*, p. 35 and p. 209.

³ *Third Annual Report*, pp. 88-90.

no provision for the grouping of parochial unions so as to create separate school boarding houses for the pauper children of districts of unions. Consequently, under the amended system, the separation of the children from the adults was confined to each workhouse. The school, if mixed, would not consist of fifty children on the average, nor, if boys and girls were separated, of more than twenty of the school age. It was generally impossible to induce the guardians to vote adequate salaries for teachers of such small schools. They were at first taught by the least objectionable inmates."¹

The same MS. of 1877 illustrates the deadweight of opinion among the guardians against which Dr. Kay had to fight:

"To teach a pauper child to write was regarded by some boards as not simply preposterous but dangerous. It was to many of the guardians like putting the torch of knowledge into the hands of rick-burners. . . . What had the hedger and ditcher, the team driver, the shepherd, the hind, the ploughman, to do with letters except to read incendiary prints against masters, bastilles, and the oppression of the New Poor Law? Why, too, should there be a school in the workhouse when there were few or none in the parishes? Ought not these schools to be improved and made more numerous, not to say universal, before so much was spent on the education of the pauper child? Moreover, these children had hitherto been a grievous burthen and nuisance."

Having analysed the problem and counted the difficulties, Dr. Kay began, as opportunity offered, to make visits to the various educational institutions that might help him, and to keep the importance of the question before the minds of the Commissioners. They were ready to help, and in August, 1837, Mr. Frankland Lewis acknowledged the receipt of Dr. Kay's "proposed circular respecting education,"² and admitted that

¹ This difficulty of inducing Boards to vote an adequate salary for the schoolmaster was not solved until, in 1846, a special vote of £30,000 was made for the purpose. Dr. Kay's further share in this scheme will be shown in Chap. VI. p. 171.

² This circular or pamphlet is referred to by other friends at this time, but no copy is available. It was probably the nucleus of his report for 1838. See p. 53.

"the time is come when the subject must be taken into serious consideration—we are agreed also that the instructions must issue from the Board, and that we must make ourselves responsible for whatever is done on the subject."

A colleague from among the Assistant Commissioners, Mr. E. Carleton Tufnell,¹ was interested in the same problem. He was a man of wide knowledge, quick sympathy and unofficial bearing, and his private letters reveal a playful spirit far remote from the routine of poor law business. In 1837 the two made an educational tour to Scotland, and visited Mr. Wood's Sessional School at Edinburgh, and Mr. Stow's Model School and Normal Seminary at Glasgow, two pioneer institutions that served to confirm Dr. Kay's dissatisfaction with the monitorial system² employed in National and British schools, and to convince him of the superiority of "simultaneous" or class teaching. Mr. Tufnell has claimed the credit of having proposed these visits, and has recorded³ his companion's remark on leaving Stow's school: "How little we knew of this subject before our visit to Glasgow!"

Wood and Stow occupy an honourable place in the history of education. The former, who was an Advocate of the Scotch Bar and Sheriff of the County of Peebles, in his *Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School* (1828) had emphasised the importance of intelligence, understanding, and interest as against mechanism, memorising, and drill, oral questioning as against book

¹ The friendship of Dr. Kay and Mr. Tufnell may have begun as early as 1834, for in that year Mr. Tufnell was secretary of the newly formed London Statistical Society, and in frequent correspondence with the officials of the Manchester Society.

² Adverse criticism of the monitorial method is to be found in many places in Dr. Kay's writings. Perhaps the first is that given in evidence before the Select Committee on Education of the Poorer Classes, 1838. His opinion was based on observations made in Lancasterian schools in Manchester and elsewhere, and while he admitted the efficiency of the Borough Road Schools, London, and of the Kildare Place Schools, Dublin, he condemned the plan of organisation as applied to provincial towns, where no resources existed to prolong the period of monitorial service beyond the age of twelve or thirteen.

³ *Journal of Education*, July, 1877.

questioning, a more vigorous mental atmosphere and a milder form of discipline as against the passivity and rigidity of monitorial methods. David Stow, a Glasgow merchant, from experiences with slum children, and a visit to Wilderspin's Infant School in Spitalfields, had developed a conception of the school as an instrument of social regeneration, and had emphasised the moral training of the child as of first importance. While not neglecting instruction he had developed a "system," which recognised that habits were as important as knowledge, and the playground, "the uncovered school-room," as important as the school. He insisted on the need for trained teachers, for classes of limited number, and for oral instruction as stimulative of thought.

The visit to Scotland led to immediate practical results, for a few Boards of Guardians, on the advice of Dr. Kay and Mr. Tufnell, began to appoint their teachers from the Scotch training institutions. Of more significance was the appointment of a teacher named Horne, trained at Wood's school. Dr. Kay made him an organising master in the workhouse schools of the Eastern Counties, and he began to spend two or more months in each place. He re-organised the schools, instructing the capable and replacing the incapable teachers, and much improvement was made in a short time.

"He had accurate knowledge and much earnestness in his vocation: an eager sympathetic temperament which induced him to throw himself with ardour into whatever he undertook. This enthusiastic Scotch youth, brimful of elementary technical knowledge, and an expert in Mr. Wood's methods, was a phenomenon in these small workhouse schools. It was impossible to resist his energy. Everything was transformed where he appeared. When he left one workhouse to proceed to another school he left behind him deep traces of his influence. The master and the scholars alike had been awakened from a torpor into which they could not at once sink back."¹

¹ 1877 MS.

But the real difficulty remained, for the permanent teachers were unsatisfactory, and the conditions of service were too unattractive to induce trained men to accept office in workhouse schools,¹ unless the enthusiasm of a Dr. Kay was available to persuade them. He succeeded in bringing many young teachers across the border, and with many of them he kept in close touch through several years.² English teaching owed something to this migration, and Stow's influence was rapidly widened because of it.

It was while Horne was at work in the Eastern Counties that an incident occurred which may be regarded as the starting point of the Pupil Teacher system.³ After his work was completed at one school the master fell ill, and the chairman of the union, on visiting the place to decide what was to be done, found the discipline and instruction going on unbroken under the spontaneous lead of a boy named William Rush, thirteen years of age. The guardians confirmed the boy in his position, and he continued to conduct the school successfully until the master could return to his duties.

"In this incident was much matter for reflection. As to the boy himself, the question arose whether his spontaneous action and remarkable success were not indications of natural aptitude for teaching? How could this be cultivated, and if it were so developed what career could be provided for him? If an efficient master were appointed might not William Rush remain

¹ Dr. Kay's successor in the Eastern Counties reports, in 1840, that there was at that date only one teacher from Edinburgh and one from Glasgow. The salary was meagre, the life obscure, the position under the master of the workhouse undefined, and the domestic life uncomfortable. These practical obstacles were always in Dr. Kay's mind while working for a new race of teachers for workhouse schools.

² It is not possible to estimate the number of such teachers, or the variety of schools to which they were brought. Horne was afterwards a tutor at Battersea, under Dr. Kay (see Chap. IV.), and the author of many school books. Other typical examples were McLeod, Headmaster of Norwood (see p. 58), and afterwards of the Battersea Model School (Chap. IV.), and Dunlop, who reorganised Deptford Workhouse School (see p. 67), and was afterwards headmaster of the school at Gawthorpe.

³ *Four Periods of Public Education*, p. 289.

there as his assistant? He happened to be an orphan. The guardians might recognise the value of his services, might provide him with board, with better clothing, and a separate room where he might receive instruction from the master, and pursue his own studies. But could this youth, however gifted, complete his education so as to take charge of an independent school without some other training which should transform his manners, habits, and modes of thought, and give him some experience of the life of the world outside the workhouse walls? Was it expedient to launch this youth on a career which apparently must be abortive, because his preparation would necessarily be so limited and his experiences so incomplete?

"Though this incident, in consequence of the subsequent history of the boy, fixed itself on my memory—and probably because in its accessories it was the most striking—other boys came forward as assistants in other schools, and I thought it right to encourage the guardians to retain their services. Thus these apparent accidents gradually assumed a systematic form. We began to call the most successful of these assistants Pupil Teachers, and to regulate their studies, board, clothing, and position in such of the workhouses as had an efficient teacher. . . . Many of these arrangements required time for their development. The ground had been broken before I was summoned to take charge of the administration in the Metropolitan district, but the field had to be cultivated by my colleagues."¹

During this time Dr. Kay was also visiting such experimental institutions in England as offered help in the solution of the education problem. Among them were the schools established for the rescue of juvenile offenders by the Children's Friend Society at Hackney Wick,² and the Victoria Asylum, Chiswick; also Lady Noel Byron's school at Ealing Grove.³ At Hackney

¹ 1877 MS.

² A pamphlet, written in 1835 by Charles Forso, called *Practical Remarks upon the Education of the Working Classes*, with an account of the plan pursued at the Brenton Asylum, Hackney Wick, describes the work of this school, and is a plea for the educational value of manual pursuits.

³ This school was described by B. F. Duppa, the Secretary of the Central Society of Education, in several pamphlets. See his *Education*

Wick he found juvenile delinquents engaged in repairing their dilapidated buildings, and learning the use of familiar tools, and was greatly impressed by the value of practical exercises in training pauper children for a life of honest labour. At Ealing Grove each scholar had his own allotment, and was learning not only the principles of successful gardening, but also habits of work, the care of tools, the keeping of accounts, the rights of private property, and the advantages of co-operative effort. Lady Noel Byron was a friend and disciple of De Fellenberg, whose acquaintance Dr. Kay had not then made, and her school was planned on the lines of his famous institution. From December, 1837, she and her husband were in frequent correspondence with Dr. Kay on methods of education, especially of rural education and the training of teachers, and her letters usually introduced the name of De Fellenberg as the final authority in any matter of dispute.

In 1838 these inquiries were extended to the Continent, and with Mr. Nicholls, the Commissioner, he visited Holland, Belgium, and Paris, and studied especially the reformatories, orphan houses, and prisons for juvenile offenders. In the same year he also visited Holland with the schoolmaster McLeod.

He had seen, soon after his appointment as Assistant Commissioner, that the hope of curing the disease of pauperism lay in the education and separation of the workhouse child. Valuable as might be the improvement of workhouse schools as an immediate step, he regarded it only as a compromise: the evil association of the children with adult paupers remained, poisoning the stream at its source, and guardians were slow to see the necessity of costly teachers. The remedy therefore seemed to him to lie in the creation of District Schools,

of the Peasantry in England (1834), *Schools for the Industrial Classes* (1837, and reprinted in the *Essays on Education*, vol. ii. 1838), and *Industrial Schools for the Peasantry* (*Essays on Education*, vol. i. 1837). The last named contains an account of several schools of a similar type, and is a vindication of industrial occupations as an educational method. Dr. Kay, in his *Report on the Training of Pauper Children* (see p. 53 and p. 67, note), quotes from Duppa's account of the Ealing Grove school.

where efficiency could be secured most economically, and where the self-respect of the children need never be imperilled. "With such convictions I pressed the consideration of this question on the Commissioners,¹ and I was instructed in 1838 to prepare a more formal report in order that the whole subject might be submitted to the Government."

This report, which embodies the study and inquiries of three years, is that of 1838: "On the training of Pauper Children, and on District Schools."² It shows why pauper children could not be satisfactorily educated in workhouses, and describes the scheme of a combination of Unions for the support and management of a district school. It re-asserts his view that, while pauper children must not be better fed, clothed, and housed than the children of the labouring poor, or increased pauperism will be the result,³ their education is more important because it is the only way of escape. The neglect of education would mean that the future destiny of 45,000 children would be imperilled, and an "enervated, vicious, or turbulent race" perpetuated; the better way lay in their removal to an atmosphere "uncontaminated by pauper breath."⁴ There follow detailed recommendations on the organisation of district schools, which show how thoroughly Dr. Kay had assimilated and re-interpreted the ideas of the time. The infant school is to be fashioned on Stow's plan, with a gallery for oral lessons, but Stow's difficulties in teaching reading are to be overcome by employing the phonic method "introduced into all the Dutch schools by

¹ This is evidently the pamphlet referred to by Mr. Frankland Lewis. See *ante*, p. 47.

² Poor Law Commission, *Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 228-265.

³ He condemns the orphan asylums of Holland for neglecting this principle, and expresses his concern that on a *jour de fête* the dinner consisted of "a huge piece of currant cake, with butter and six eggs for each girl."

⁴ The Commissioners agreed with this principle of early segregation, though they pleaded that their powers were "circuitous and inefficient . . . without further assistance from the legislature" (*Fourth Annual Report*, p. 90). Several attempts were made to bring about the change, but its complete acceptance was won with surprising slowness.

M. Prinsen." The "simultaneous" method of teaching is to replace the "mutual," and pupil teachers, apprenticed and remunerated, are to provide a supply of young assistants. Suitable industrial occupations for boys and for girls are suggested, and numerous teaching hints are supplied—the importance of composition based on oral lessons, of geography lessons beginning in the locality, of singing, of the playground and gymnastic exercises, of interest as a motive superior to the fear of punishment—the report is almost a manual of teaching.

It was printed as a pamphlet, and a copy brought from De Fellenberg a long appreciation and criticism. He thought that the first step should be the establishment of "nurseries of good teachers," that the hours for manual work should not be limited to three a day: at Hofwyl they allowed eight or ten hours for such occupations, and gave only three to instruction, including recreation, as it was also possible to teach while the most mechanical work was going on. He also thought that the English aim of turning out the pauper child at thirteen to earn his living was wrong, and that he should continue to live in the institution that had fostered him, and be taught to repay in some measure the cost of his upbringing.

Dr. Kay had been employed from time to time by the Commissioners in making special investigations. In 1837 he presented a report on the "Distress among Spitalfields Weavers,"¹ and it was regarded by Lord John Russell as of sufficient importance to be laid on the table of the House of Commons. In May, 1838, with the collaboration of Dr. Arnott, he reported on the "Prevalence of Certain Physical Causes of Fever in the Metropolis which might be removed by Proper Sanitary Measures,"² a terrible exposure of the sanitary conditions of London, and a plea for extended powers to Boards of Guardians. In the same year he was called by the Commissioners to the oversight of the Metro-

¹ Poor Law Commission, *Third Annual Report*, pp. 142-149.

² *Ibid.*, *Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 103-129.

politan area, including Middlesex and Surrey, and took up his residence in London.

At the beginning of 1838 the Select Committee on Education of the Poorer Classes in England and Wales called him as one of their nine witnesses, and his evidence occupies about one quarter of the report. It is indirect proof of his right to speak on national education with authority, and while many of the questions refer to Manchester conditions and the investigations of the Manchester Statistical Society, his evidence covers a wide range. He commends many of the devices of teaching he had studied at Glasgow and Ealing Grove, condemns the monitorial system, and urges the importance of a national system supported at first by a school rate until public opinion was sufficiently instructed to pay for education voluntarily. Consistently with his earlier views, he condemns gratuitous instruction, and makes the proposal that no parent should be allowed to make a profit by the labour of his child without proving that he had availed himself of the means of educating him.¹

The removal to London gave Dr. Kay new problems and new opportunities. One of his first experiments was to separate pauper children from adults, by devoting one or two parochial workhouses in certain unions to the reception of children alone, and getting a competent teacher appointed for the larger school thus formed.

"Some of the evils which I had witnessed," he wrote, "were aggravated by the fact that the children and adults were the dregs of a city population, corrupting each other by the influence of numbers. . . . The administration of relief was only in the first stage of transition, and the consequent effort to secure the adoption of sound principles in the execution of the orders of the Commissioners absorbed a large part of my time. . . . The condition of the pauper children came immediately under review. In few of the parochial workhouses were

¹ The Committee reported a great want of education in large towns, but were not prepared to propose any means beyond the continuance and extension of Treasury grants through the National and British and Foreign School Societies. See Chap. III.

they separated from the adults. They were generally in charge of paupers, often corrupt, rude, and cruel, or utterly careless and negligent. Seldom or never had they any other occupation than picking oakum, sorting bristles, and making 'hooks and eyes.' One of my first expedients was to devote one or two parochial workhouses in certain unions to the reception of children."

Of the children in some of the metropolitan districts he wrote :

"Too generally they were from the most degraded and criminal classes, from the foulest slums, from the haunts of thieves and the lowest prostitutes. Their school had been the streets. Frequently they were the stunted offspring of vicious parents and had been half-starved from their birth—taught to drink, to swear, to lie, and to steal. Some of them were listless, apathetic, and dull, from starvation, scrofula, or hereditary brain disease. Others were wild, wayward, and unmanageable. Few had known kindness, scarcely any had the most elementary notion of religion or duty. The climax of their misfortune was that they had, when in danger of starvation, been sent to complete their evil training in the foul assemblage of the parochial workhouse."¹

A peculiar feature of some of the London Unions was the farming out of pauper children. The practice had grown up in the eighteenth century owing to the humane endeavours of Jonas Hanway, who had demonstrated that the city workhouses were fatal to infant life, and had urged that pauper children should be placed with carefully selected families in the country under adequate inspection. Some improvement, not always permanent, was effected, but large establishments grew up in the course of time, so that in 1838 there was, among these private institutions, one which contained as many as eleven hundred children. The others contained fewer, and were of various sizes. Dr. Kay visited them, and has described what he saw :

"What struck me most was the pallor, the subdued mien, and listless demeanour of the children. They were decently but scantily clad. The rooms were generally clean and the windows wide open in the day time. The counterpanes and sheets were unsoiled. The beds did not seem too near together, though the rooms were low, and had no means of ventilation except through the windows. But when I measured the capacity of the bedrooms, and counted the numbers of the children and the beds, I found that each bed must receive at least two inmates at night, and that other beds must be brought into the rooms in the evening. It was only by special visits that I could verify this suspicion. These visits disclosed to me the secret of the discipline, for I found children chained to logs of wood, and I soon discovered that harsh punishments were not spared. But the sudden dissolution of a system which had grown up gradually in the preceding fifty years and had become an accredited part of the parochial arrangement, was impossible. The children could not be sent back to ill-constructed workhouses, often in unhealthy parts of London. Nor was there any other place ready to receive them. Some ameliorations could be effected. The number of children in certain establishments could be limited. The dietary could be improved. Means of cheerful recreation could be devised. The instruction in industry could be modified. But every change cost money. The contractors had friends on the board who could make a formidable resistance to improvements, however obvious, which involved a new and more costly contract. Consequently the ameliorations were imperfect. Even that which seemed imperative for the health of the children was obtained only with difficulty."¹

The establishment at Norwood, which contained eleven hundred children, offered the most ready means of experiment, because the proprietor, Mr. Aubin, was well disposed to introduce improvements, even at the cost of a considerable outlay. Although his school had no merits, and was an example of imperfect monitorial methods with defective moral training and monotonous industrial occupations, Aubin was genuinely anxious to

¹ 1877 MS.

preserve the children's health by scrupulous cleanliness, regular diet, and frequent outdoor excursions in fine weather. Norwood was accordingly selected by Dr. Kay as the scene of his first educational reform on a large scale. Through the Commissioners he applied for Government assistance, and Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for the Home Department, at once appropriated £500 per annum to assist the experiment, and the money was applied to the salaries of teachers and superintendents of labour. Rough workshops were built, the schoolroom was divided up by curtains, a gallery was erected in the boys' and in the girls' school, and desks, benches, and apparatus were bought. Teachers were selected from Scotland,¹ and skilled handicraftsmen were put in charge of the workshops. The Admiralty provided the deck, bulwark, masts, and rigging of a brig, which were set up in the playground. Two ships' guns were also obtained from the dockyard at Deptford, and a naval gunner was appointed as instructor. The domestic training of the girls was equally varied and stimulating: it included the cleaning of the teachers' apartments, waiting on them at meals, plain cooking, instruction in the washhouse and laundry, domestic hygiene, the care of infants, and the rudiments of sick-nursing. The only industrial occupation which could not be introduced was gardening, on account of lack of room, an omission which Dr. Kay regretted, as he had "a strong conviction that physically, mentally, and morally, it might be made an efficient means of training."² The school became a vigorous centre of mental and physical effort, and Dr. Kay, busy as he was, spent there three afternoons a week in order to organise it down to the most minute details. He felt that success at Norwood would ensure the adoption of his larger scheme—district schools for pauper children.

A description of these reforms is given in his report

¹ McLeod was the schoolmaster. Dr. Kay wrote of him: "He was always ready to adopt any of my suggestions, and had a remarkable aptitude not only in apprehending the principles of any new method, but singular skill in carrying it into practice."

² 1877 MS.

for 1839,¹ which is the only Assistant Commissioner's report in the volume of that year, and it receives much attention from the Commissioners.² It describes the work of the school, and makes a sound plea for concrete and useful learning. It bestows praise on the "simultaneous" method in terms that seem strange from so marked an individualist:

"A spectator is surprised to find that the simultaneous answers simultaneously given to questions which have never been asked before are generally made, not merely correctly, but in the same words, by the whole class; so that a well-practised class appears almost to have one mind, and has certainly realised much individuality of action."

It is evident from the report that the proofs of success are so obvious as to justify the methods adopted.

"The children now at least display in their features evidence of happiness; they have confidence in the kindness of all by whom they are surrounded; their days pass in a cheerful succession of instruction, recreation, work, and domestic and religious duties, in which it is not found necessary to employ coercion to ensure order. Punishment, in the ordinary sense, has been banished the school, and such slight distinctions as are necessary to mark the teacher's disapproval of what is wrong are found efficacious."

And in addition to such high claims was the definite fact that the Norwood scholars were already sought eagerly by employers, without premium, and had earned high praise. The problem of 1836 was solved.

The system of Pupil Teachers, begun tentatively in East Anglia, was established on a larger scale at Norwood. Promising boys were selected and appointed probationers, receiving separate instruction in the evening. If they continued satisfactory they were given a distinguishing uniform, had separate apartments and superior diet, and were called Pupil Teachers. They

¹ Poor Law Commission, *Fifth Annual Report*, pp. 145-160.

² *Ibid.* pp. 21-26.

were regularly examined as to their progress in teaching and study, and were entrusted with continually more responsible duties. Promising boys were also received from other workhouse schools and apprenticed for five years, although Dr. Kay had many doubts whether a demand for teachers would be created, and whether pauper boys would prove satisfactory material. Before long, youths were sent from the country to be trained in the methods employed, and country gentlemen about to establish a school on their estates despatched the prospective teacher for a few months to Norwood. Two "clever and interesting young men" were also sent from Malta by the Commissioners to be trained as teachers, in order that they might be fitted to establish schools, not only in the dockyard, but throughout the island.

"Here again," wrote Dr. Kay, "I was full of doubt as to the course to be pursued. I was careful to represent that we had at Norwood no means of giving education to such young men. Moreover, that if we had such men we could not conceive that much benefit would be derived in a few months. Remonstrances were vain. The school had for the time captivated public approbation, and its influence was expected to produce results for which it was in no degree fitted. But these circumstances weighted me with a load of responsibility. Either this popular misapprehension must be openly disabused, or the enthusiasm excited must be led into some new and useful channel."¹

Norwood became known at a time when educational enthusiasms were growing, and, every Friday, was visited by large numbers of interested people. To it came politicians, including Lord Lansdowne and Lord John Russell, landowners, social reformers and educational enthusiasts.² The case for district schools seemed to be established. Dr. Kay had prepared plans of them, and, accompanied by two of the Commissioners, had discussed them with the leaders of the

¹ 1877 MS.

² Greville was a visitor on August 9, 1839, and was much impressed. *Memoirs*, Part II. i. 229-230.

Government. Anticipating their speedy adoption, he foresaw the urgent need of a supply of trained school-masters. Norwood was not suited to answer the demand.

"Excellent as had been Mr. Aubin's disposition, faithful as had been his co-operation, successful as had been the result, his establishment could not be regarded as a model. The buildings were very imperfect. The system of 'farming out' was in its very essence objectionable. I deeply felt that something quite different was required. I felt that I was launched in a career in which I had the responsibility of some further step. I revolved in my mind what that step should be. To found a Training College would require a large outlay towards which I could not ask the Government to contribute, because their action in such a matter would be looked upon with extreme jealousy. It would be suspected of having a relation to national education. I was on the eve of taking independent action when I received a message from Lord Lansdowne.¹ He declared to me the intention of the Government to found an Education Department by an Order in Council creating the Committee of Council on Education, which should, at first, be charged only with the administration of the annual Parliamentary grant. Lord Lansdowne did me the honour to consult me as to the first steps of the new Department. I at once suggested the foundation of a Normal Training College. He said that he and Lord John Russell were well inclined to such an enterprise. He then asked me if I could suggest to him the name of any gentleman competent to discharge the duties of Secretary to the new Department. I named three gentlemen who had taken a very prominent part in promoting the improvement of popular education. On a subsequent day Lord Lansdowne again requested to see me. He told me that the Government had some doubt as to the propriety of asking me² to take what might prove a precarious, and would certainly be a very obnoxious

¹ On March 1, 1839.

² There is no record of what had transpired between the two interviews, but it is evident that Lord Lansdowne did not regard the names submitted as suitable, and was anxious to secure Dr. Kay for the new post.

position—subjecting me to much opposition—but they were desirous to ascertain whether I could suggest any mode in which the risk to myself could be diminished. I at once replied that I thought the object to be attained so great that I was quite ready to take any risk. But it seemed to me important, for the object which the Government had in view, that I should retain my superintendence of the pauper schools of London in which the pupil teacher system was in operation, and that if the attempt to found an Education Department were defeated I could then retire into my previous position in the Poor Law Commission. If, on the other hand, the attempt to found a Government training school should be successful, the pupil teachers whose education was sufficiently advanced might at first feed the college with students until other sources were opened.”¹

Thus, in 1839, his life and energies were re-directed by his appointment as first Secretary of the newly-formed Committee of Council on Education. He was by this time well known as an educationist of wide interests, for, in addition to the labours described in this chapter, he had promoted teachers' conferences and discussions at which reports had been presented on English and continental methods and experiments, and lectures had been delivered on various subjects of school instruction. It was fitting, therefore, that he should be chosen as the first State official in English elementary education, and direct the early activities of the Government in the creation of a national system. For once in the nineteenth century the office was filled by an expert, and if the precedent had always been followed in later years the history of educational progress in this country might have been a happier one.

Later chapters will deal with his work under the

¹ 1877 MS. Lord Lansdowne replied, evidently after Dr. Kay had reported to him the acquiescence of the Poor Law Commissioners: “I assure you that it is not the least satisfactory part of your communication which implies the probability of your being enabled without entirely relinquishing your other duties to spare time for putting the plans of our committee in course of execution.”

Committee of Council, but it will be convenient to place here an account of his continental tour of 1839, and to describe his further labours for the Poor Law Commission until he retired from their service. The visit to the Continent¹ was made with Mr. Tufnell, and they visited the principal schools of Holland and Belgium, France, Switzerland, and the Rhine, and received impressions which had a marked influence on them both. They inspected schools in Prussia and Saxony, the normal school at Versailles, the Maison Mère and Noviciate of the Brothers of the Order of the Christian Doctrine at Paris, the normal school at Dijon, and spent several weeks in the elementary and normal schools of Switzerland, where they met the Père Girard at Fribourg, De Fellenberg at Hofwyl, and his pupil Vehrli at Constance. From this time Girard's ideals, De Fellenberg's precepts and Vehrli's practice became a measure by which Dr. Kay criticised his own aims and efforts. De Fellenberg's establishment at Hofwyl, near Berne, was begun as an agricultural school for the working class, and to it a middle and an upper school were afterwards added.² Its chief feature was the variety of practical occupations it offered and the wide curriculum it presented: workshops, farm and garden, music and drawing, lessons and walking tours, kept the scholars in constant activity and wedded intelligence to skill. But it was at Vehrli's school at Constance that Dr. Kay found the frugality and simplicity and zest for work that seemed to him the key to the education of the poor, and Vehrli's welcome, though it may sound somewhat sententious when torn from the context, seemed to be the words of a prophet:

“I am a peasant's son. I wish to be no other than

¹ This journey is described in the First Report on the Training School at Battersea, which is reprinted in *Four Periods of Public Education*.

² The schools were advertised in England, and attracted several pupils. Robert Dale Owen and his brother, sons of Robert Owen, were pupils there at an earlier date (see *Threading My Way*). The system was the cause of a long and bitter controversy in Switzerland and Germany.

I am, the teacher of the sons of the peasantry. You are welcome to my meal : it is coarse and homely, but it is offered cordially. These potatoes are our own. We won them from the earth, and therefore we need no dainties, for our appetite is gained by labour, and the fruit of our toil is always savoury."

Here was true philosophy : resigned and grateful acceptance, honest and non-aggressive independence.

At Constance he saw also the varied occupations of the pupils in school, garden, house, and workshop, the association of song and labour, and the care that was bestowed on moral training. And above all was the theme that was always on Vehrli's lips :

"We are peasants' sons. We would not be ignorant of our duties, but God forbid that knowledge should make us despise the simplicity of our lives. . . . There is no knowledge in books like an immediate converse with Nature, and those that dig the soil have nearest communion with her. . . . Wisdom consists in the discovery of the truth that what is *without* is not the source of sorrow, but that which is *within*. A peasant may be happier than a prince if his conscience be pure before God."

Vehrli's insistence on joy in work, and simplicity of life, did not prevent him from giving to his pupils, who were preparing for their life work as teachers, a sound intellectual training far surpassing the notions then prevalent in England as to the requisite attainments of a teacher of the poor, and Dr. Kay was persuaded by what he saw that men similarly trained were "best fitted for reclaiming the pauper youth of England to the virtues, and restoring them to the happiness, of her best instructed peasantry."

In the schools of the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine in France¹ he saw realised in practice the truth that teaching may be the highest form of human service. The members of that Order devoted their

¹ References to these schools will be found in both the First and Second Reports on the Battersea Training School. See *Four Periods of Public Education*, pp. 358, 359, and 388-393.

lives to the education of the poor in the cities of France, and from four in the morning until late evening were engaged either in religious exercises or in school work. Yet the public expenditure for their services was only one-third of that given to lay schoolmasters, so little can money reward work.

"With such motives," comments Dr. Kay, "should the teachers of elementary schools, and especially those who are called to the arduous duties of training pauper children, go forth to their work. The path of the teacher is strewn with disappointments if he commence with a mercenary spirit."

As regards the special problem of the preparation of an adequate supply of teachers, Dr. Kay found no unanimity in the various countries. In some places the monitorial system prevailed and oral teaching was rarely found. But in Holland, where large town schools were a common feature, the masters were aided by trained assistants whose education closely resembled that of the pupil teachers he had created in England. These assistants had a recognised status in the schools and were instructed by the masters in school management, discipline, and methods of teaching, but their intellectual studies were conducted collectively in the evening in a central school. This latter device, he thought, could not be adopted in England at a time when religious jealousy was at a maximum. However, the efficiency of the Dutch schools increased his confidence in the pupil teacher system as the first stage in the training and education of teachers.

It is important also to realise how deeply he was influenced by such applications of Pestalozzian methods as he saw in continental schools. He found that the work of that reformer had been the source of much that was valuable in them, and that the spirit of Neuhof, where industrial occupations and intellectual development had been blended in the education of destitute children, was still at work in the schools of De Fellenberg, Vehrli, and others. Pestalozzi's message to a

disordered Europe had been that renewal must come through a new spirit of education which would accept the child as he is, study him and his potentialities, assist his development by graded instruction and not impose upon him an adult standard to which he must conform, not "pen them up like sheep, whole flocks huddled together in stinking rooms, pitilessly chain them for hours, days, weeks, months, years, to the contemplation of unnatural and unattractive letters." The art of teaching was to assist the child's own effort, and present knowledge in definite order suited to his developing powers. Pestalozzi was not always clear in presenting his ideas, and his disciples sometimes read into them a formalism never intended; in consequence, there had grown up the theory that the teacher's duty was to analyse knowledge into a graded series of regularly increasing difficulty, and the scholar's business was to synthesise these elements in a new mental structure. It was false psychology: analysis and synthesis should inter-penetrate, and their separation begets unreality and artificiality; it reduces writing to pot-hooks, reading to phonetic symbols, and language to words; and while there was much of value in the so-called Pestalozzian methods there was also that great defect. Dr. Kay also accepted the error,¹ but he imbibed something that

¹ Birchenough, in his *History of Elementary Education*, notices this error (pp. 269, 270) in the following criticism of Dr. Kay: "Unfortunately he started from the false psychological position of imagining that the earliest mental activity of a child is synthetic, and that analysis only comes later." The sentence is true enough, but there is no indication in the context that the blame should have been placed elsewhere. Dr. Kay was imitating a famous group of educators, and openly admitted his indebtedness to them. He took the most enlightened view that he could find, and defended it, not by psychological but by pragmatic argument: the best schools he had seen were carrying out more or less the ideas of Pestalozzi, and the results were sufficiently good to justify their imitation in England, where the art of instruction was poor enough. The psychological fallacy was not established for some time. The position held by Pestalozzi at that time may be realised by the words of Horace Mann (in the ninth annual report of the Board of Education, Boston, 1846): "Since the time of Pestalozzi there has been scarcely any difference of opinion among the leading educators of Europe and America as to the true and philosophical method of instruction. With one consent their decision is in favour of the *exhibitory*, *explanatory*, and *inductive* method."

was of far greater importance, and that was the spirit of Pestalozzi himself. The immediate results will be traced in succeeding chapters.

One or two further reports to the Poor Law Commissioners must here be mentioned. A paper in 1840 entitled, "An Account of Certain Improvements in the training of Pauper Children, and on Apprenticeship in the Metropolitan Unions,"¹ is less optimistic about Norwood than the first report.² The absence of a training school for teachers, who should be "instructed by the experience of Europe," the lack of approved manuals of method and lesson books, and the fact that the Commissioners had no direct control over the institution, are given as the reasons why Norwood can present only a "rude and imperfect" outline of the methods of educating pauper children. But the report also contains valuable evidence of progress in various unions, showing that Dr. Kay's efforts had not been confined to Norwood alone. Not the least interesting is the testimony of Dunlop, brought from Stow's school to be headmaster at Deptford Workhouse, where he found an appalling state of affairs. He had there replaced three superintendents, two of whom were seamen who could neither read nor write, "the very models of indolence," addicted to swearing, lying, and drinking, and the third, the teacher, was a lunatic who died soon afterwards of brain disease. The girls had been nominally under the care of pauper women, but practically uncontrolled. In consequence he had found the boys "broken-spirited, cringing, and deceitful," the girls, "refractory, obstinate, boisterous, and insolent." Yet so great was the change that he records the fact that "the only instance we have had, for a very long time, of theft, was committed by a girl who had been in

This method is the opposite of the *dogmatic*. . . . If a complex idea is affirmed it is analysed into its elements."

¹ Printed in the important volume *The Training of Pauper Children*, issued by the Commissioners in 1841. This book contains several of Dr. Kay's reports, and brought him much eulogy from various correspondents in different countries.

² See p. 59.

the house only a few weeks, and the only punishment she got, or required, was the disgust of the others at her conduct." Dr. Kay might well feel jubilant with such evidence. Aubin and McLeod, of Norwood, also testify that their pupils go out to service at an earlier age, are much sought after by employers, and that few are returned for unsatisfactory conduct. The report ends with a summary of *desiderata*: the abolition of all premiums except in the case of disabled children; the appointment of an officer to investigate the character and circumstances of applicants who seek the service of apprentices, to visit the children and report upon their condition and progress to the guardians;¹ and a further plea for district schools.

Letters from Stow during 1839 and 1840 show that he was unable to supply Dr. Kay with all the teachers he needed, for they are in apologetic vein and full of explanations that his "trainers" are in such great demand everywhere that the supply keeps running out, eager as he is to send the best. In November, 1839, Dr. Kay used two urgent applications he had received from Metropolitan unions—one for a schoolmaster qualified to introduce the new methods, the other asking for an assurance that something will soon be done to remedy the defective state of the pauper schools—as a further argument for advance. He urged once more the importance of training workhouse schoolmasters, whose character, disposition, and skill were the only hope for their scholars, deprived as these latter were of parental care, and he endeavoured to make his argument more effective by quoting Vehrli's views on the exceptional qualifications which a teacher of pauper children should possess. But it was of little avail. The Commissioners themselves were in a precarious position, and did not know how permanent their office would be. Moreover, Mr. Frankland Lewis retired in 1839, Mr. Nicholls was

¹ It is a characteristic illustration of Dr. Kay's thoroughness in organising details that in 1841 he submitted to the Commissioners five different forms of report, so that the proposed inquiry officer should keep complete records of his work and that they should be easily available for inspection.

in Ireland, and Mr. Lefevre retired in 1841. The plan of district schools was not pressed, and Dr. Kay was increasingly occupied by new duties. His last lengthy report was dated January 25, 1841, and dealt with the "Punishment of Pauper Children in Workhouses."¹ It is a plea for mild discipline, and a vindication of the child's inattention to poor teaching. It denounces "the tyranny of full-grown dullness over defenceless dunces of its own creation." It is rich in wise maxims that reveal an understanding of the teacher's problems, and an appreciation of the differences that are inherent in children. It attempts to establish the doctrine of natural consequences, as put forward by Rousseau and made famous in England by the advocacy of Herbert Spencer twenty years later than Dr. Kay, who argues thus:

"There ought to be a connection between the nature of the fault and the nature of the punishment. In after-life, each class of errors is followed by its appropriate retributive consequences. The man who has forfeited his character for trustworthiness reaps a full harvest of suspicion. The jealous lose their friends; the ambitious are more prominent objects of envy; the vain excite contempt or pity; the vindictive provoke revenge; the petulant irritate; the wayward are deserted. While, on the other hand, the honest are trusted; the generous are aided; the meek are promoted; the humble attract respect; the amiable are rewarded by affection; the gentle by kindness; the constant by steady regard. The

¹ The theory developed in this paper is the outcome of experience at Norwood. The MS. account contains the following passage: "The discipline of the contractors' establishments had sometimes harshly suppressed the tendencies to turbulence, insolence, and disorder which the new teachers encountered at Deptford and Edmonton. At Norwood, however, I discerned no signs of preceding severity, and I was astonished at the docility of the children. They seemed capable of being moulded like wax. There was no government by fear. The school work was interesting and mentally stimulating. The recreation was cheerful and varied. The exercises trained the children in concerted action, promoted the enjoyment of growing strength and skill, and accustomed them to prompt obedience. Everything was done happily, some things even joyfully. The instruction of the school awakened their intelligence and fed their minds, and the religious exercises conducted reverently by the chaplain probably gave for the first time to many any idea of worship, or prayer, or praise, or a notion of anything beyond their sordid material life."

educator will endeavour so to devise his appeals to the conscience of children as to render his lessons in harmony with these laws of the moral world."

Perhaps the doctrine is true in the long run, *sub specie æternitatis*; its difficulty for the educator lies in the large number of apparent exceptions that abound, exceptions that rob the postulated connection of any motive force.

On Dr. Kay's draft, apparently returned to him from the Commissioners' Office, there is a pencil note in another hand:

"The renewal of the Golden Age. 'The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them.' I fear we are not ripe for this at present."

It is probably the view of one of the Commissioners, and may denote his dismissal of the subject. Although there is little direct evidence, it seems reasonable to suppose that Somerset House no longer listened with much sympathy to schemes of education, and in November, 1842, Mr. Tufnell wrote of the Commissioners in terms bitter enough to suggest a feud of long standing.¹ In these circumstances, perhaps, Dr. Kay did not regret his severance from the Poor Law Office, as his other duties were multiplying so rapidly. The end of his career as Assistant Commissioner is marked by the following letter² from Mr. G. C. Lewis:³

"It would certainly be convenient, with reference to the formation of district schools, that you should be an Assistant Commissioner. But if the number of Assistant Commissioners is to be limited in the Act to nine, each of the nine must have a district. This is

¹ Dr. Kay wrote, in January, 1842: "I have arranged that Tufnell shall not resign. . . . I hope all is now settled, and that my good friend is saved from a catastrophe by yielding to my advice."

² The date of the letter is December 20, with no year. Other circumstances suggest 1841.

³ The son of Mr. Frankland Lewis, and now the Chairman of the Commissioners. Afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, Home Secretary, and Secretary for War in Lord Palmerston's ministries.

the difficulty of the case, from which I see no mode of escaping except by giving you up exclusively to the Committee of Council, and trusting to your good offices."

The district schools, however, were not effectively pressed, and it was not until 1846¹ that Dr. Kay was able to make substantial progress in the better education of the pauper child.

¹ See pp. 171, 172.

CHAPTER III

THE STATE AND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

WHILE the education of the pauper child had been considerably improved by the exertions of Dr. Kay and his colleagues in the Poor Law Commission, that of the children of the independent poor had made little progress during the 'thirties. In the workhouse schools State aid and State control had been established without arousing any alarm; the entrance of the State into the schools of the nation was destined to arouse every form of opposition, and to make education questions the text of the most bitter sectarian disputes.

The schools of the 'thirties were for the most part the result of private enterprise, and therefore varied in quality between two extremes: between the type called school only by courtesy, consisting of a damp, dark cellar where an ancient female or disabled male gained a precarious and mean livelihood by collecting together a number of children—and the type which has earned too little commendation: the private school which was the creation of a teacher who loved his work and believed in its importance. Descriptions of the first type abound,¹ and, from the days of Nicholas Nickleby to our own, the dame schools and adventure schools have been a byword. The records of the second type are more difficult to gather; many are lost altogether, but a few can still be traced, and we can form some estimate of the excellence which these schools sometimes reached in Thomas Cooper's autobiography, in the first portion

¹ See the frequently quoted *Report* of the Manchester Statistical Society.

of Sir Rowland Hill's *Life*, and in other contemporary records.

To these private schools had been added the provision made by the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society, which brought the prestige and support of great religious bodies to the aid of isolated efforts, and set going schools in such numbers as promised, for a time, to overtake the social evils which engulfed England in the first decades of the nineteenth century. These monitorial schools were organised on the pernicious theory that a young child, without any special training, can teach children, and as only one master was needed for each school, the equally pernicious idea was developed that large schools are the best because they are cheap, an idea which has never since ceased to influence the administrators of education. Under this system, therefore, some social good and much educational evil was done: children were removed from the evil of the streets and came under the control of a civilising agency; but the mechanical nature of the instruction, the imposition of the fixed and unchangeable devices of a "system" of teaching, and the intellectual deadness of the conception of the school, stamped upon the term "education" a meaning wholly foreign to it, and set up a standard so low and easily attainable as to make the labours of reformers even more difficult than they would have been if complete neglect had been more common. The apparent success of these voluntary and competitive efforts induced a general feeling that they were adequate; and in the reformed House of Commons there were few who were much dissatisfied with the state of public education.

It was in keeping with this view that the Government, in 1833 and successive years, made a grant of £20,000 "for the erection of school houses for the education of the poorer classes in Great Britain," and the first vote was carried in a House attended so sparsely as to indicate the general indifference.¹ The Treasury

¹ By 50 to 26.

Minute which laid down the conditions of apportioning the grant among applicants shows that the scheme was intended to promote self-help: it was a grant limited to the building of schoolrooms, and at least half the cost must have been raised by the promoters before they could secure assistance from the Treasury. One of the two recognised school societies was to recommend the case as a deserving one, and large cities and towns were to have the preference. These conditions governed the procedure of the State during the next six years, and the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society entered upon a vigorous rivalry to secure what they could of the offer. Starting equal in the race they soon drew apart; and the National Society, by the aid of its greater resources, out-distanced its rival with ease, and soon secured more than three-quarters of the grant. For the principle of this first grant was the universal one that to him that hath shall be given; and whilst wealthy districts and churches found no hardship in the terms, the poorest districts, where the need was greatest, could not demand the help which was their due; their relation to the Government was exactly that of Simple Simon to the pleman, and their reception was as cold. As a consequence, Dr. Kay's picture of the condition of the working classes in 1832 is not untrue of their condition in 1839, so far as educational provision is concerned. The principle of self-help is an excellent one, but it has limitations in its application to education, and Dr. Kay had been compelled by hard facts to adopt the opposite view that the most needy class of all—the paupers—required the greatest assistance from the State.

Some account of the efforts of reformers must be given, in order to make clear the nature of the struggle that developed into open warfare when the proposals of the Government were made known in 1839. A growing party in the House of Commons, led by J. A. Roebuck, demanded State provision for the "universal and national education of the whole people." Lord Brougham argued at length in the House of Lords the need for a

Board of Education with a responsible Minister. The Central Society of Education, formed in 1836, formulated a programme of a national system of schools, with democratic control and State inspection, and their advocate in the House of Commons almost succeeded, in 1838, in carrying a motion against the Government. Outside the House, too, were many indications of a growing demand for the provision of a liberal plan of education. Its advocates included not only the few who had a genuine desire to see an educated people, but also the many who wanted education for political ends, the unenfranchised classes, the disillusioned reformers of 1832, the Chartists and trades unionists, a heterogeneous mass feared by Conservatives and despised by Whigs. They included among their number men of humble birth and unbounded faith in the blessings of knowledge, men who themselves had acquired large stores of information and political sagacity. They are attractively represented in William Lovett, the Chartist leader, who drew up, in 1837, for the London Working Men's Association, an address on Education,¹ which is one of the most complete of the time. More ambitious and less practical was the veteran Francis Place, who declared in 1841 :

"I hope to see the time when £20,000,000 will be voted to pay for the building of schools—schools for all, and not schools for Churchmen, or Chartists, only—and when a compulsory rate will be levied on all, in each school district, by a committee of the district, to pay the expenses of carrying on the schools, in which the teaching shall be really good and apart from all religion."

The provinces, too, showed the same awakening. Various statistical societies, led by the example of Manchester, proceeded to lay bare the deficiencies of educational provision, and also to attempt to remedy the evil condition ; for, in 1837, the "Manchester Society for Promoting National Education" was formed, with

¹ Reprinted in Lovett's interesting *Autobiography*, pp. 135-146. See also *Chartism: a New Organisation of the People*, by Lovett and Collins (1840), for evidence of educational enthusiasm and understanding.

William Langton as treasurer, and many of Dr. Kay's former co-workers on the committee. In 1838 they opened three schools, financed partly by the fees of the scholars, who were received irrespective of creed. In the same year this committee petitioned Parliament for an educational bill, and sent up 24,000 signatures in support, besides inducing other towns to send in similar petitions.

There was excuse enough, in all these factors, for the Government to interfere, yet this zealous party had little power. Its members were disorganised and scattered, comparatively few of them had votes, and their secular programme for the schools filled the orthodox with horror. They were days of great religious excitement. The Anglicans had been disturbed by a series of enactments which challenged their position. They had seen the Nonconformists admitted to civil rights in 1828, and the Roman Catholics admitted to Parliament in 1829. The altered *personnel* of the reformed House of Commons after 1832 had raised perplexing questions as to the relation of Church and State, and Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy" in 1833 marks the beginning of a new temper. The actions of the Reformed Parliament increased the uneasiness of the Church: proposals with regard to Irish Church property split the Grey ministry in 1834, and ejected the short-lived Peel ministry in 1835. A Royal Commission in the same year, to "inquire into the Revenues and Patronage of the Established Church of England and Wales," seemed to many like the laying of profane hands upon the sacred Ark; and two measures of 1836, the Marriage Act and the re-arrangement of dioceses, were regarded as further acts of spoliation. The Oxford Movement gathered to itself the resentment felt against such aggression, and created an influential group opposed to State control of education, which they regarded as an attempt to rob the Church of its most promising agency, the school, in which, as in a nursery, they could mould the youth of England after their own manner.

The outlook and temper of this group may be

studied most entertainingly in the books of Archdeacon Denison,¹ the most valiant and irreconcilable of such combatants, whose opinions were already formulated by 1839. This outspoken ecclesiastic, who seems to have developed a love of hard fighting from his days of stern discipline under Keate at Eton, and from a private tutor who administered heavy punishment upon small provocation, loved many things because they were old; and State interference in education was not likely to find favour in his sight because it was new. Even his preference for Cheddar cheese was based on the fact that it grew better by keeping, his sufficient proof also in more important matters. "I have always set my face as a flint against the mind of the time," he wrote; and this negative attitude and clear-cut principle saved him from many of the perplexing questions of his day. It was natural, therefore, that he should have adopted one general principle on the question of educational control, and should have applied it fearlessly and logically. He went back to the Report of the General Committee of the National Society of 1812, which declared that "it is required that all the children received into these schools be, *without exception*, instructed in the Liturgy and Catechism; and that, in conformity with the directions in that Liturgy, the children of each school do constantly attend Divine Service in the Parish Church." Having adopted this interpretation he proceeded to ignore all other readings of the Charter of the National Society, and to take his stand on all the implications of his general position: education was a religious work whose aim was to build up the Church; it must therefore be in the hands of the clergy; it could admit no child except on the clergy's terms; it could tolerate no interference from any secular power. These views have long disappeared in a world of compromise, and Archdeacon Denison himself saw them disappear from amongst even those who first supported him, saw to his indignation that many gave them up because the temptation of State

¹ *Fifty Years at East Brent*, and more especially *Notes of my Life*. Also various pamphlets.

grants proved too strong for them. During the twelve years following 1839 he stood more and more alone, but in no whit shaken: "I will fight till I die," he declared, "for the Catholic Church of England. I will not move one finger for a Church which negotiates with the House of Commons, or its creatures, about the means of discharging the trust committed to her of God." The temper is the temper of heroes; in a world of politicians it has never found continuous sympathy.

It would have answered Denison and his adherents not at all to have pointed out that the religious instruction in the schools was little more than the mechanical memorising of misunderstood formularies, and that the struggle was for a shadow: he would have admitted the fact and denied the inference, adding that the Church's duty was to provide better teaching. Nor would the picture of unschooled children in large towns have moved him, for the problem of numbers, so dear to the reformers of the nineteenth century, was not important to him: "You may teach a hundred children where you taught one before; but it does not follow that the teaching of the hundred is worth so much as the teaching of the one."

Between the extremists there were, of course, moderate men of every shade of opinion, and Dr. Arnold may be quoted as an example of toleration and liberal sympathies. He was haunted by the state of society, and was anxious to gain the advantage of unity between the denominations. "I have one great principle," he wrote, "which I never lose sight of: to insist strongly on the difference between Christian and non-Christian, and to sink into nothing the differences between Christian and Christian."¹ To this end he wished to see a religious education generally established, aided, but not too much controlled, by the State, and using the existing schools—a comprehensive system unvexed by sectarian exclusiveness, where all well-disposed men could unite in a common aim and without surrendering any vital principle.

¹ Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, i. p. 333.

The Nonconformists of the time were in a state of mind hovering between hope and suspicion. Compelled by lack of funds to welcome any financial relief from the State, they had already seen that, when such relief was granted, their more wealthy rivals gained an increasing advantage over them. Hence, they were disposed to see in fresh proposals a concealed unfairness which would somehow augment the Church's advantage. They were thus in the unhappy position of the man who is compelled to apply for parish relief and who has the bitter knowledge that the application will one day be used against him. On the whole, they were prepared to accept the immediate good, and risk the ultimate evil, and Mr. Edward Baines, Junr., who later became a prominent figure in the Nonconformist struggle, offered the support of his influential paper, *The Leeds Mercury*, for the Government proposals of 1839.

In the midst of this conflict of parties few attempts were made to ascertain the views of that most important and most ignored class—the parents of the children in whose supposed interests the fight was to be waged. They cared little enough, many of them, for education at all; those who did care were willing to send their children to any school within reach that offered any hope of education. It must have been small consolation to the Denisons of the time that “the Secretary of the National Society testified of their schools that nine-tenths of the parents would remove their children if they could get better instruction, without thinking at all about the religious knowledge.”

In 1839 the Government ventured to sail their frail craft of State interference in waters already stirred by approaching storm. The omens were unfavourable. The bulk of the Church party stood armed for a fight with the Whig Government, and moderate proposals were brushed aside. The Church felt herself attacked, and the clergy drew together in an impulse of defence. In February Lord John Russell communicated the famous Queen's letter to the Lord President of the Council, desiring him to form a Board or Committee

"for the consideration of all matters affecting the Education of the People." The letter concluded with the sound Whig doctrine that "it is Her Majesty's wish that the youth of this kingdom should be religiously brought up, and that the rights of conscience should be respected." The phrase, associated with Lord John Russell's championship of civil rights, must have sounded ominous to Church ears, for he was an enthusiastic advocate of the undenominational schools of the British and Foreign Society, and his anti-clerical views were well known.¹ On April 10, the Crown established, by Order in Council, a Committee of the Privy Council, according to the following Minute :

"It is this day ordered by Her Majesty in Council that the Most Honourable Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord President of the Council ; the Right Honourable John William, Viscount Duncannon, Lord Privy Seal ; the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State ; and the Right Honourable Thomas Spring Rice, Chancellor of Her Majesty's Exchequer be, and they are hereby appointed, a Committee to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of Promoting Public Education."

In this way the Government avoided the risk of a vote in the House, and established for the first time a central administrative authority for public education.

To the "precarious and obnoxious" position of

¹ Lady Russell's account of his religious views, quoted in Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, ii. 468-469, shows good reasons for Church suspicion : "He deplored the earthly and sectarian trappings by which man has disfigured Christianity—the multiplication of creeds, dogmas, ceremonies in the Church of England ; her assumption of sanctity as the special depositary of truth ; the narrowness of spirit which has made her through all history the enemy of free thought and progress. . . . He thought the English catechism wholly unfit for children, and vehemently disliked the dogmatic parts of it. His thoughts and opinions were not to be bounded or cramped by the regulations of any one sect built up by man. He looked forward to a day when there would be no priests, or rather when every man would be a priest, and all superstitious notions—such as is implied in the notion that only a clergyman ought to perform certain offices of religion—should be cast aside by Christian men for ever."

Secretary¹ to the Committee Dr. Kay was appointed, as we have seen, by Lord Lansdowne, and he "received from the chief Ministers of the Crown a special injunction, and that was to assert the civil influence for education."² From the untroubled educational enthusiasms he had inaugurated at Norwood and other schools he was plunged into the conflict of political strife and religious bitterness. He brought, as we have seen, a practical enthusiasm for educational reform and a conviction that the State was justified in fostering a system of schools. His political views harmonised with those of the Whig leaders. His knowledge of the needs of the poor was varied, and in some respects unique. He understood the organisation of a school in every detail, and took positive delight in studying and assessing the various methods of teaching. His religious convictions were unweakened, although experience and reflection had made him a member of the liberal and tolerant party within the Church. There was probably no man in England better equipped in all ways to guide the Committee of Council on Education in its first steps than was Dr. Kay. It is to the credit of the Whig leaders that they chose him, and gave him as free a hand as was possible in an enterprise full of danger to their own party. It is to the discredit of the opponents of the scheme that their attacks went beyond the limits of valid criticism of a policy, and sought to gain party advantage by vilifying the Secretary's motives and religious views.³

¹ Dr. Kay, strictly speaking, was the Assistant Secretary, as the Clerk of the Council is ex-officio Secretary of all Privy Council committees. See p. 213.

² From a speech at the Battersea Club Reunion, 1873, quoted by Adkins, *The History of St. John's College, Battersea*, p. 22.

³ These personal attacks were constantly recurring, and, as will be seen, did not cease after his retirement from office. They seem to have begun at once, for the Rev. R. I. Wilberforce, in a printed *Letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne* (1839), asserted that "the poor will not be attracted by the appointment of a poor law Commissioner, Dr. Kay (however individually able and estimable), to be secretary to the Board; and his project of a compulsory school rate (Evidence in 1838, No. 248) will not diminish the apprehension of the contributing classes." Anonymous attacks speedily increased in bitterness, and charged him with

It has already been shown that Dr. Kay suggested to Lord Lansdowne that the first activity of the new Committee should be the erection of a normal school for the training of teachers. There were funds available, for a grant of £10,000, voted by Parliament for this purpose in 1835, still remained unspent, and experience at Norwood had indicated that this was the next stage of development. The Committee of Council considered a scheme on the day after its appointment, and, in the Minute of April 11, 1839,¹ outlined its intentions; there were to be two model (practising) schools, one a boarding house for at least 450 children, the other a day school for 150 or 200 children, where candidate teachers could learn their art under different conditions. The schools were to be organised on the "simultaneous" method, as contrasted with monitorial or "mutual" methods then general, *i.e.* the school would be separated into classes each containing 40 or 50 scholars. The normal school was to be under the direction of a Rector, who would give lectures on the "whole art of training children of the poor." There is no doubt that these proposals were Dr. Kay's own, although he was

every heresy. His friend, Mrs. Davenport, of Capesthorpe, Cheshire, writes in a private diary two years later, "I have become aware that a very erroneous opinion, which was, however, at one time very general, still prevails, that Dr. Kay is a Unitarian. Nothing can be more false. He has lived much with Socinians formerly, and they tried to convert him; but this only led him to read more, and has strengthened his views. He is a very decided Churchman. His father was a Dissenter; but neither he nor one of the family ever was a Unitarian; and now all are Church. Mr. Eden [Vicar of Battersea] once answered an attack of the kind in the *Times*." In a letter written in February, 1842, Dr. Kay remarks: "In the education contest it was the cue of our opponents to vilify me, and the clergy generally were very active in attempting to deter me from pursuing my plans by imputations of infidelity and latitudinarianism." See also p. 331.

Such charges sprang from his tolerant sympathies to all sects, and he was misunderstood in an intolerant age. But it is curious to find later writers making the same assertion, and deducing a theory from it. Thus Dr. R. Gregory, in his *Elementary Education*, refers to him as a "Unitarian" (p. 20), as a "Nonconformist not likely to sympathise with Church school teaching" (pp. 42, 43), and as "no special friend to Church schools" (p. 68). Mr. Birchenough, in his *History of Elementary Education*, also describes him as a Nonconformist.

¹ Printed in *Four Periods of Education*, pp. 179-181.

not yet officially appointed,¹ and that he was engaged in working out the details of the new institution is proved by his letters in May inquiring about possible teachers. But it seems to have escaped attention that this proposed Government normal school was a development of Norwood. The model boarding school was to be the district school whose establishment he had long desired. The model day school was to be the type of village or town school then growing up in different parts of the country. The normal school was to find its nucleus of students first among the pupil teachers at Norwood, to whose future career he had given so much anxious thought. The scheme might have emanated from the Poor Law Commission as easily as from the Committee on Education: it was meant to be an authoritative demonstration on the best methods of teaching the children of the poor. Norwood had won the praise of all classes; a Government school designed and equipped for the work would prove even more successful.

Unfortunately, the further proposal for religious instruction in these schools angered all parties. A distinction was made between "general" and "special" religious teaching, the first of which was to be the basis of the school teaching, and the second was to be given at fixed times by a chaplain and by Dissenting ministers admitted for the purpose—the so-called "combined" plan. This implied that the Committee of Council could decide what was general and what was special in religious teaching, and aroused antagonism everywhere. The ecclesiastical party regarded the admission of Dissenting ministers into the schools as a dangerous concession; Nonconformists noted with suspicion that the permanent chaplain was to be a Churchman. Edward Baines, Junr., wrote to Dr. Kay:

"I, as a Dissenter, object to the principle of making a *certain* provision for the religious education of Churchmen in the normal school, and leaving that of the Dissenters (in your own words) 'contingent.' To

¹ The Minute appointing him is dated August 26, 1839, although he was performing the duties of the post before that date.

appease the Church you are compelled to give prominence to this injustice towards Dissenters."

Yet it seems evident that the proposal was not Dr. Kay's, for it is unlike the rest of his policy, and he claimed afterwards to have foretold and warned Ministers of its failure.¹ Archdeacon Denison asserts that Dr. Kay preferred the "combined" system,² but publicly abandoned it because it proved unpopular; there is no evidence for the statement, and all the subsequent proposals made by Dr. Kay will be seen to favour schools associated with the separate denominations.

But the mischief was done. The old slogan "Religion in danger," a cry which never fails to arouse both saints and sinners, was raised, and a campaign of abuse and misrepresentation was set going which promised to wreck the Government. Their supporters were lukewarm, for, as Dr. Kay wrote to Lord John Russell, "the project of a normal school did not offer advantages of sufficient magnitude to rouse the friends of civil and religious liberty to great exertions in support of the Government." But the opponents waxed increasingly enthusiastic, and attacks led in the House of Lords by Bishop Blomfield, and in the House of Commons by Sir Robert Peel, convinced the Government that they would have to withdraw the offending Minute. The career of the pupil teachers at Norwood was left unsolved.

At a meeting of the Privy Council on June 3, 1839, the Committee on Education presented a report, advising that the £10,000 should be given in equal amounts to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. The Committee expressed no change of view, but had experienced

"so much difficulty in reconciling conflicting views respecting the provisions which they were desirous to

¹ Speech at the Battersea Club Reunion, quoted by Adkins, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

² *Notes of My Life*, p. 107. See also p. 150 of this volume.

make . . . that it is not in the power of the Committee to mature a plan for the accomplishment of this design without further consideration, and they therefore postpone taking any steps for this purpose until greater concurrence is found to prevail."

Three other proposals at the same meeting must be mentioned: the first was a recommendation that 'no grant should henceforth be made unless the right of inspection were secured; the second was an alteration of the terms governing the allocation of grants, in a direction that has been shown earlier in this chapter to be in accord with Dr. Kay's views, namely, a concession that poor and populous places should "not invariably" be required to raise the full amount of local subscriptions; the third was an intimation that, "in particular cases," applications other than those recommended by the two voluntary societies would be considered, a recognition of the infinite complexity of a national system working through denominational schools. The question of inspection, the first successful assertion of the power of the central authority, will be referred to later.

The Government had still to face the House when they asked for the annual grant¹ for education, and the vote was made the occasion for a fierce attack on the policy of the Committee of Council. On June 14 Lord Stanley moved a protest against the invasion of the civil power into spiritual matters, and the debate took on such importance that it was several times adjourned. He had warm support, Gladstone,² Disraeli, and Lord Ashley joining in the attack, and the Government only escaped defeat by five votes. The grant was passed by a majority of two only. In the Lords, in spite of a vigorous speech by Lord Lansdowne, a series of resolutions embodying an Address to the Queen were proposed

¹ £30,000. In 1839 the grants to England, Wales, and Scotland were combined.

² Gladstone's argument was that the theory of the Establishment meant "the limitation of the pecuniary effort of the State to one particular denomination," a claim which the Marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, showed to be untenable, as funds had been frequently given to Dissenters and Churchmen indifferently, without any objection being raised by the Church.

by the Archbishop of Canterbury and passed by a large majority, the peers emphasising the occasion by carrying the Address to Buckingham Palace in person, where Her Majesty gave them a harmless answer in the vain hope that it would turn away wrath.

The manifestation of such opposition disconcerted the friends of a national system, and weakened the resolution of the Government. The feeling of pessimism is clearly reflected in Lord Brougham's published *Letter to the Duke of Bedford* (1839), which contains a confession of utter defeat :

"A controversy of thirty years, with all the reason and almost all the skill, and, until very lately, all the zeal on our side, has ended in an overthrow somewhat more complete than we should in all probability have sustained at the commencement of our long and well-fought campaign."

He even advises his followers to accept a Church bill rather than no bill, believing that secular knowledge would be so mighty, and would so prevail, that the passion and prejudice which had swept the country would not again be possible.

Dr. Kay did not share this pessimism. In the summer of 1839, in the midst of the political excitement aroused by the doings of the Committee of Council, he published anonymously, but with the sanction of the Committee, a defence of their proposals in a pamphlet entitled *Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England*.¹ It is a vigorous essay of four chapters. The first reviews the state of education in England, and collects evidence from the inquiries of Select Committees and Statistical Societies, from prison chaplains and governors, from sermons and books, in the thorough-going way familiar to readers of Dr. Kay's reports. Carrying the war into the enemy's camp he indicts the methods of National and Lancasterian schools, and quotes witnesses to show that religious instruction given in such schools "consists chiefly, if not solely, in

¹ Reprinted in *Four Periods of Education*, pp. 185-286.

committing to memory catechisms and formularies which are neither explained nor understood." Yet industrial communities have grown up whose moral and religious condition is a menace to the State; and whilst the factory child, the pauper child, and the juvenile offender have come under the beneficent care of the Government, the children of the independent poor are to be neglected, and the stability of society is to be imperilled, while Churches quarrel.

The second chapter passes in review the condition of education in the countries of Western Europe, and returns to the same note of alarm :

"The critical events of this very hour are full of warning that the ignorance—nay the barbarism—of large portions of our fellow-countrymen can no longer be neglected, if we are not prepared to substitute a military tyranny or anarchy for the moral subjection which has hitherto been the only safeguard of England. . . . A great change has taken place in the moral and intellectual state of the working classes during the last half-century. Formerly, they considered their poverty and sufferings as inevitable, as far as they thought about their origin at all; now, rightly or wrongly, they attribute their sufferings to political causes; they think that by a change in political institutions their condition can be enormously ameliorated."

Against the wild schemes of the Chartists and revolutionaries he draws a picture of Whig philanthropy, which well illustrates the cleavage of classes and is eloquent of the difference that separated Whig and Chartist :

"In every English proprietor's domain there ought to be, as in many there are, school-houses with well-trained masters, competent and zealous to rear the population in obedience to the laws, in submission to their superiors, and to fit them to strengthen the institutions of their country by their domestic virtues, their sobriety, their industry and forethought."

In the third chapter the educational events of recent years are described, from the voting of the grant in

1833 to the appointment and proposals of the Committee of Council. In the last chapter he makes a strong plea for religious tolerance. Against the Archbishop of Canterbury he quotes the Bishop of Calcutta; against the Bishop of London's use of the name of Guizot he quotes Guizot more fully to show that he and Cousin and French opinion in general are against "the intolerance of a dominant sect." And after showing that statistical reports prove that the number of Dissenting schools and scholars is so great that it is the duty of the Government to give them adequate safeguards, he makes a last appeal that this feud of sects "should not rob the people of England of the heritage which the Government, after periods of ruinous deprivation, was about to restore to them."

The pamphlet was an indictment of intolerance and a plea for a sane compromise, and it rapidly went through several editions.¹ But it was suspect. It offered too vigorous a vindication of the Government policy, and it revealed too much knowledge of affairs for it not to be at once attributed to Dr. Kay's pen. Bishop Stanley of Norwich recommended it to his correspondents,² and supported its argument by his own:

"I think I may without hesitation or qualification assert that the Government system, misunderstood by many, and misrepresented or associated with imaginary or exaggerated prospects of dangerous effects by still more, would, if put into general operation, produce all you can desire, founded as I most conscientiously believe it to be on those 'great truths of the New Testament in which Churchmen and Dissenters agree.'"

But the general view was hostile, and drew upon the Secretary's head some of that suspicion which had before been devoted to an impersonal committee.

Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter took a prominent part

¹ The copy in the Board of Education library is imprinted "Seventeenth Edition." I have not seen any later ones.

² As in a letter to the Rev. Baptist Noel, April 23, 1840, a copy of which he sent to Dr. Kay.

in attacking the pamphlet. In the first editions there was quoted an interpolation of his in the House of Lords during Lord Lansdowne's speech, which represented the Bishop as agreeing with the principle that it was the State's duty to provide secular, but not religious education. The Bishop attacked the Committee of Council "as responsible for the pamphlet," and charged them with misrepresentation, since his remark referred to something different from that alleged, namely, that the State could not assist in teaching religious doctrines which it believed to be false. A sharp correspondence followed between him and Lord John Russell, with thrust and counter-thrust, and in the tenth edition Dr. Kay suppressed the offending paragraph, but showed that he had been misled by the reports of the debate in the *Times* and the *Mirror of Parliament*.¹ But the Bishop did not easily forgive his opponents, and in his next "Charge" subjected the pamphlet to a critical attack, making statements and drawing inferences which Dr. Kay afterwards described as "absolutely in contradiction" to the truth. It is a commentary on the bitterness of the controversy that the Bishop, seizing upon one unfortunate word, "secular," and in total defiance of the whole tone of the argument, should tell his clergy that the pamphlet taught that "political economy is henceforth to be the poor man's gospel," and then proceed to the amazing charge that the writers of the pamphlet repudiate the Catechism and the Prayer-book.²

"Much that had been put forth in the pamphlet which I had been instructed to write in defence of the *Recent Measures* was acrimoniously challenged," wrote Dr. Kay long afterwards.³ "Some of these statements related to the condition of education in certain parts of Europe. I was accordingly anxious to renew my acquaintance with these foreign systems, both as respects the legislation by which they were founded, the

¹ See Preface to tenth edition of *Recent Measures*.

² Preface to eleventh edition.

³ In the 1877 MS.

mutual relations of the several classes of schools, the means adopted to secure and maintain their efficiency, and the character, attainments, position, and authority of the teachers.

"Moreover, the formation of the Committee of Council on Education had occasioned my being placed in a responsible position with respect to the first steps towards the construction of a system of national education. The recent manifestations of political feeling both in and out of Parliament were unfavourable to progress by means of legislation. If the way could be prepared by administration, that must be accomplished by a careful avoidance of the burning questions which had recently agitated the country. I reflected much whether it would be possible to determine by common concurrence many questions vitally affecting the future organisation of schools, without entering anew the outer circle of disturbance.

"Thus I had been led to reflect on the future staff of schools. Of what elements was it to consist? How were they to be prepared? What was to be the organisation of the larger schools of towns as compared with the small, mixed schools of sparsely peopled rural districts? If there was to be one teacher for every twenty-five scholars, an army of teachers and assistants would be required. What gradation of teachers could be provided and maintained? Why might not a hierarchy of teachers be created in the calm centre of this cyclone of controversy? If this plan could be separated from ecclesiastical controversies it would become chiefly a matter of school organisation. And as I proceeded to examine its relations I found it to be in a great degree a financial question. The mode and the times when the plan could be proposed to the consideration of the Committee of Council it was difficult to foresee. Much light might be thrown on these questions by visits to schools placed in various social and political positions in different parts of Europe."

Accordingly, he left England in September with Mr. Tufnell for the tour which has already been described in the preceding chapter, studied the methods adopted in various countries for training their teachers, and was confirmed by what he saw in Holland that the pupil teacher system was the correct beginning of such

training. There were difficulties in its way in England, for teachers were so ill-paid that he did not believe it would be possible to attract children from any but the manual labour class, and that a "transforming education" in a training college for a prolonged period would be necessary. It is best to quote his own words,¹ for he is here laying down a plan by which he hoped to make a national system possible within the limits imposed by the religious complexities of the country :

"I conceived, therefore, that further experience would prove that, for many years, the pupil teachers would have to be chiefly selected from the most promising scholars of the elementary schools. There would even be difficulty in securing their services unless they were apprenticed at the age beyond which the most advanced scholars seldom remained at school. The parent would not otherwise be likely to forego the earnings which his child could gain if set to manual work.

"My conception was, that the form and limits of this system must be determined by the circumstances among which it came into existence. I saw in it the means of development of a class of certificated adult and assistant teachers : and, when the popular appreciation of the value of elementary education should become more enlightened, this first step might, by improvement, be adapted to the wants of schools rising to higher conditions of efficiency.

"If, as a first step, the schools of each denomination reared their own pupil teachers, the Government might secure the efficiency of their instruction by examinations, provided they granted aid to meet the expense. On similar conditions it might promote the building of training colleges in which the pupil teachers might complete their education. The civil power would thus interfere, in its proper province, to encourage the preparation of an efficient staff of teachers in elementary schools. But any immediate action to attain this end by the Education Department would encounter the fiercest opposition. Prematurely to disclose even the outlines of such a plan would probably occasion its defeat. Such reflections

¹ From the 1877 MS.

compelled me to reserve, even from my most intimate friends, the new sphere of action, in which I conceived the civil power might successfully promote the improvement and extension of elementary education consistently with the rights of conscience."

There will always be critics who will brush aside, with logical scorn, the idea of a national system working through denominational organisations.¹ Dr. Kay judged that it was the only way of advance, and, to a man of his energy, advance was important. The first need was to create the necessary teachers, and the Church had declared that she would not allow the State to train them. There is no doubt that she had this power, and that, if the Minute of April 11 had not been withdrawn, the Government would have been defeated heavily in June. A logical national system might have come—in time, for it took thirty years to get the first instalment of it in the Act of 1870. Thirty years is a whole generation, and Dr. Kay was more troubled by the state of the children throughout the land than by the refinements of meaning in a "national" system.

On his return from the Continent, in October, he submitted proposals both to the Education Committee and to the Poor Law Commissioners. To Lord John Russell he described a scheme of local taxation for the purpose of education.

"The Government cannot, I think, make any effectual advance in the promotion of primary education in England, until it confers on parishes and towns the power of local taxation for the support of schools, subject to certain general conditions declared by the law, among which should be :

"1. The regulation of religious instruction according to the law.

"2. The regulation of secular instruction according to the rules of the Ministry of Public Instruction, *i.e.* the Committee of Council."

¹ Mr. Francis Adams, in *The Elementary School Contest*, cannot conceal his annoyance at such a solution.

He bases his argument for local taxation on the ground that it would create a demand for good teachers and thus prove the necessity for normal schools erected by the Government. He suggested, therefore, that Ministers might proceed by submitting general resolutions to the House of Commons, declaring that the instruction of the people was necessary, that voluntary means were insufficient for the purpose, that the provision of means for the training of schoolmasters was important, that parents had a right to select the religious instruction given to their children, and that no child could be excluded from a school supported by public funds.

With his letter he also enclosed a sketch of a bill making provision for three types of districts: the rural parish where a Church school would suffice; the non-corporate towns where also "each chapel of orthodox Dissenters" might open a school; and the corporate towns where, over and above this denominational provision, schools on the British and Foreign School system, and on the Martinière system for Catholics, might be organised. But the Government was apparently unwilling to take the risk of energetic measures.

Dr. Kay's communication to the Poor Law Commissioners was a scheme for a normal school to develop the work begun at Norwood. In a covering letter to Mr. Lefevre he declares his conviction that

"nothing can be done without schoolmasters—of whom there are none. Much, on the other hand, may be accomplished by *schoolmasters*, even without *district schools*. To make *good* schoolmasters in every sense, a training school devoted to the peculiar objects of the Commission is necessary. If you approve, I will create it *at my own risk*. All I ask is your approval. The success of Norwood under inconceivably vexatious difficulties gives me great confidence in assuring you that the training school would have greater success, both with the public and the Government, and also (which is of much greater importance still) with the Houses of Parliament, in advancing the claims of the

Commission on Parliamentary support in the ensuing eventful session.¹

"Under the shadow of Mr. Eden's wing as Chaplain nothing is to be feared from the Church. The Commissioners are already assured of the approbation of the Government in its approbation of Norwood."

The scheme itself is largely an outline of the proposed curriculum, and in the light of the assertion, twenty years afterwards, that the training colleges were over-educating their students, it is interesting to note the proposals of 1839. The course was to include English, Mathematics, Industrial Science; Social Geography and History; Colonial Geography; notions in Natural History; notions in Natural Philosophy; Agricultural Chemistry; general laws of fluids and uniform bodies; Law (including the duties of the parish clerk, registrar, overseer, constable, guardian of the poor, relieving officer, highway surveyor); Book-keeping; Vocal Music; Industrial Pursuits (gardening in all its branches, shoemaking, tailoring, white- and black-smith's work, carpentering); Gymnastics; and Pedagogy.

This report he presented to the Commissioners

"to enable them to decide how far they would consider such an establishment likely to promote the interests of the public service in their department, and how far they could encourage Boards of Guardians and others to avail themselves of the means of training teachers thus created."

He proposed to bear the cost of the establishment, and to reside there during the initial stages, "in order to bring the whole plan into operation on principles resembling those on which De Fellenberg's establishment at Hofwyl is founded."

The answer of the Commissioners is not on record, but the sequel to the proposal will be found in the next chapter. Dr. Kay's time and energy were fully absorbed by his new duties. He was still an Assistant Commissioner, and he had also to create the machinery of a new

¹ The continuance of the Poor Law Commission was in doubt.

Government department, write and issue its official forms, conduct its correspondence, guide its deliberations, and make himself acquainted with a hundred points of technical detail. The most outstanding advance made by the new Committee of Council in its early days was the appointment of inspectors. By the Minute of June 3, 1839, it was announced that all building grants would henceforth carry with them the right of inspection, a policy in keeping with Benthamite traditions and confirmed by Poor Law practice, but one which the Church regarded with suspicion. In August, 1839, Dr. Kay wrote to the National Society to inform them that the Committee on Education were prepared to recognise their interests and would appoint as inspectors of National Schools only those who were acceptable to the Church.

"It is intended," he wrote, "to appoint one inspector solely for the purpose of visiting National Schools to which any future grant of money may be made. For this purpose they have requested the Bishop [Otter] of Chichester to name to them some person who shall be, in his opinion, duly qualified for this important task. The high character of this important prelate and the eminent place which he held at the head of a seat of learning, founded and supported by the Primate and other distinguished members both clerical and lay of the Established Church, will be a guarantee to the National Society of the friendly intentions of the Committee. Any vacancy that may hereafter occur will be filled up in a similar spirit and with a like recommendation.

"Further than this the Committee cannot go. They would not consider that they could adequately discharge the trust reposed in them by Her Majesty, or could give a faithful report to Parliament, if they left to the Society, to whom the public money is to be granted, the sole power of reporting on the efficiency of their own arrangement, and the right of excluding officers appointed by the State, to which they are to be indebted for a part of their resources, from all inspection or examination of the schools."

Lord John Russell, in approving the letter, asked Dr. Kay not to leave for his continental tour till the

first of September, as he "anticipated an unfavourable answer from the National Society," and it required almost a year to reach the so-called Concordat of July 15, 1840,¹ the matter being one of controversy during that period. The Committee of Council held firmly to their claim that the inspectors should be appointed by them, and should report to them, but the National Society secured every other advantage they could: the Archbishops were to be consulted, each with regard to his own province; they were to suggest persons for the appointments, and their concurrence was necessary in any appointment; they were to issue instructions on religious teaching, and were to receive duplicate reports along with the bishop of the diocese in which the schools were placed. Dr. Kay had secured what he most prized: the control of the inspectors in the improvement of secular education, but the Church retained the other advantages.

Two appointments followed: the Rev. John Allen² was made inspector of Church schools in England, and Mr. J. Gibson was appointed to inspect the schools of the Established Church in Scotland. Prior to this, Mr. Seymour Tremenheere had been appointed in England, apparently without any denominational limitations, but the Concordat restricted his labours principally to schools in connection with the British and Foreign School Society.

A second important innovation by the Committee of Council was the issue of an annual volume of *Minutes* in 1840, and each succeeding year, which together form a valuable history of the development of our educational system. The first volume is an excellent illustration of the detailed labour which Dr. Kay devoted to his task. Applicants for grants had to answer no fewer than seventy-five questions, but were happily supplied with "instructions respecting the mode of answering the questions." The new inspectors received one hundred

¹ *Minutes* of the Committee of Council on Education (1839-40) p. 21.

² Afterwards Archdeacon of Salop.

and forty questions and thirty-four supplementary questions,¹ covering all the points which concerned the well-being of a school. They are an important indication of Dr. Kay's conception of inspection and of education. Inspectors were not only to ascertain that public money had been well spent: they were to spread information on improved methods of teaching; they were to assist and encourage local efforts, not to restrain them; they were to stimulate, not to compel. The theory of inspection that arose in a later day, and which created and maintained a false and harmful relationship between teachers and inspectors, was not Dr. Kay's; in fact, his words seem now to have foreseen and provided against the evil. The inspectors were to "abstain from any interference with the instruction, management, or discipline of the school," and to do nothing which "could tend to impair the authority of the school committee or chief promoters of the school over the teacher or over the children, or of the teacher himself over his scholars." So anxious was he to promote self-help and encourage local effort that the inspectors were instructed not "to offer any advice or information excepting where it is invited."²

The hundred and forty questions, and the thirty-four supplementary questions on infant schools, explored every phase of school life—the tenure and site of the building, the mechanical arrangements, the means of instruction, the mode of organisation and discipline, methods of teaching, number and qualifications of staff, attainments of scholars, attendance and registration, the

¹ Printed in the first volume, 1839-40, pp. 22-45, under the heading "Instructions to Inspectors."

² Lord Lansdowne seems to have exercised a restraining hand on the wording of official documents. In a letter dated December 31, 1839, when these instructions were in writing, he expressed to Dr. Kay his preference for "plain and dry" instructions, and put down in his own words the objects of inspection as

"1. To report on the due application of public money.
"2. On the effect of its application, and of the improvements it has contributed to introduce, and suggesting whether they admit of being further extended.

"3. To give advice wherever advice is sought for."

Fortunately such brevity was far too "plain and dry" for Dr. Kay.

income and expenditure of the school, and, still more important, included questions on topics which reveal Dr. Kay's understanding of the social functions of the elementary school. These questions had reference to the provision of playgrounds, the intercourse between parents and teachers, the efforts made to establish a connection between the school and its former scholars, the school library and its degree of usefulness to a wider circle, and the association of the school with mutual assurance societies or clothing clubs. This social conception, a topic now familiar enough but disastrously neglected in the nineteenth century, was also clearly expressed in the Minute explaining the plans of school houses and printed in the same volume.¹

"The parochial or village library can nowhere be so conveniently and usefully kept as at the school house, under the charge of the schoolmaster; and the buildings afford abundant facilities for this purpose. The office of secretary to the benefit society of the parish or village would in no respect injuriously interfere with the schoolmaster's duties; as the meetings of the society would probably be held in the evening. The schoolroom is, in all respects, conveniently arranged for such meetings, and would be a place of assemblage for the working classes, preferable to the tavern, where these meetings are too commonly held."

Consistently, too, with his intention to prepare the way for the introduction of the pupil teacher system, he included in the first volume detailed plans of schools with arrangements for seating the scholars at parallel desks in groups, on the "simultaneous" system, as well as forms for the apprenticeship of pupil teachers for five years. The system thus received a semi-official recognition.

The Concordat did not end the controversy regarding the inspection of Church schools, as has been thought, for the first inspector raised a difficulty, a few months later, by refusing to present his reports through the Secretary, or to address them to the Committee of

¹ *Minutes*, 1839-40, pp. 46-92.

Council, and the correspondence shows that an acute crisis arose which threatened to destroy the compromise. In a long letter, covering twelve pages of foolscap, Dr. Kay warned Lord Lansdowne that the revolt threatened to end the control of the Committee over its inspectors, and quoted conversations with Mr. Allen to prove that it was a design "to render the inspectors of Church schools independent of the influence of the Secretary." As inspectors were appointed (largely) on ecclesiastical grounds, and not for their knowledge of education, it meant that they would, in Dr. Kay's words,

"either be the propagators of error, or they must be more or less responsible to the Secretary. . . . Without such guidance each inspector would proceed without experience or skill to his duties, and the results of their experience would be as various as their crude notions on a subject on which they had little or no knowledge."

A letter from Mr. Allen to Dr. Kay shows that the latter regarded it as a test question, and contemplated resignation unless his authority was secured:

"I did not give utterance," wrote Mr. Allen, "to what I really felt when you stated the possibility of your resignation in case my view of the position should be recognised by the Committee. It seems to me that few severer blows could be dealt to the cause of popular education in this country than the loss of your services. . . . But before you bring this question forward I would ask you to pause and think whether any clergyman will accept the office of inspector if he be bound to obey the injunctions of one who fills your situation? I feel that no clergyman ought to accept the office on such conditions. I became inspector being assured no such obedience was due from me."

Lord Lansdowne's reply to Dr. Kay was emphatic:

"Wherever there is misapprehension, or fear of misapprehension, or disposition to misapprehend, if there is a *litera scripta* on the subject, it is safest to adhere closely to it, to the very letter. If Mr. Allen's report does not appear formally and distinctly addressed to the Lords of the Committee of Council it must be sent

back with a simple and dry direction (by my order if you will) so to address it agreeably to the terms of the Minute. He may be apprised at the same time that such report will, as in every other department, be opened by the Secretary, will be acknowledged by him, and laid before their Lordships. . . . I will make a point of seeing Mr. Allen when I go to town, and making him thoroughly understand his situation."

The civil control of the inspectors was thus maintained, and was later confirmed by Lord Wharncliffe, the President of the Council in Sir Robert Peel's Ministry.¹

That the Government had conceded too much to the Church in the appointment of inspectors was the opinion of many Nonconformists, and the British and Foreign School Society expressed their dissatisfaction in the arrangement, as well as their suspicion that the inspectorate might become privileged opponents of their own schools and methods.² Quoting Lord John Russell's reply to Mr. Baines in the House of Commons, "that if the inspectors for the Church of England schools should find in their districts other schools not belonging to the Church of England they should inspect them if the directors of these schools had no objection," they not unnaturally concluded that the links between the British schools and the parent society might easily be snapped by the visits of Church inspectors, and they asked for guarantees that the parent society should be apprised of such visits, and of the reports that were made. This concession was promised, but the attack was re-opened, after a pause, by the Society, which

¹ Curiously enough, the same inspector was responsible for this second specific declaration of policy. He wrote on March 15, 1844, to ask permission to show his (private) weekly diaries to the Bishop of Winchester. The Secretary replied that "while an inspector can give private and unofficial information, Lord Wharncliffe conceives that the transmission of copies of your diaries to the Bishop might produce inconvenience, and be liable to misinterpretation with reference to your position as a servant of the Committee of Council, who are alone responsible to Her Majesty and to Parliament for any directions given to you, with the view of securing the due performance of your duties as inspector."

² The voluminous correspondence was printed in the *Minutes* of the Committee of Council, 1842-3, pp. 401-538.

asked to be placed on a footing "at least equivalent to that enjoyed by other bodies" in the choice of inspectors. About the same time the publication of a report on the Glasgow Normal School, adverse in some particulars, made the British and Foreign School Society uneasy, and they even questioned whether State grants, at any rate to normal schools, might not be secured at too high a cost. The Report on British Schools in London, 1842,¹ was not calculated to appease this growing uneasiness. It was a record of large classes, inefficient monitors, mechanical reading, irregular attendance and poor results. The Society objected "to the spirit and tendency of the whole document. It appears to them an elaborate attempt to show that the entire system of instruction pursued by the Society is essentially defective." They added, with perhaps a touch of irony, that inspection "at other times, and in other hands," might become an engine of oppression.

Lord Wharncliffe's reply, early in 1843, promised that, when the occasion arose, an inspector should be appointed who would inspire confidence that the inspection would be conducted "with every friendly feeling" towards the Society, but he still refused them any share in making such an appointment. The correspondence became more and more strained until, in November, Lord Wharncliffe announced his conversion to the principle he had refused to concede in January, and promised that no inspector should be appointed for British schools without the full concurrence of the Society. The promotion of Mr. Tremenhoe shortly afterwards to the service of the Poor Law Commission opened the way for a complete settlement, and thus the Nonconformists won from a Conservative Government what the Church had won three years before from a Whig Government. Other complications in the relationship between the Nonconformists and the Committee of Council at this time may have influenced Lord Wharncliffe's conversion.²

It is fitting to end this chapter with a reference to

¹ *Minutes*, 1842-3, pp. 434-515.

² See Chapter V.

the first report which the system of inspection produced—namely, the report by Mr. Tremenheere¹ on certain districts in South Wales which had taken a prominent part in the Chartist riots of 1839. It is of more than educational interest, for various social problems are touched upon; but its significance in the history of education is that, for the first time, an independent and trained investigator was sent out by the central authority to make an impartial survey of “the state of education generally in that part of the country.” Of all the early inspectors of the Committee of Council none interpreted his orders more liberally than Mr. Tremenheere, and none wrote reports of greater value to the student of social conditions. His account of South Wales in 1839 well exhibits this special quality. Even more revealing were his almost daily letters to Dr. Kay, who kept in close touch with his inspectors during their inquiries, questioning and criticising their procedure, and making suggestions according to the circumstances that were revealed. These letters from South Wales contain vigorous pen pictures: there is the clergyman of a remote parish happy in his self-indulgence at the dinner table, and the curate who is “well informed and liberal minded, and therefore a phenomenon in these parts;” there is the neglectful proprietor of a large works who is also a Member of Parliament, and therefore to be “handled carefully,” and an agent who despises education and holds the view that “things were never better than at the beginning of the century—the people could then be *managed*.” There is the school “so filthy and disgusting” that the inquiry had to be conducted from without, and there is the inefficient school that he describes at length:

“It was a low-roofed solitary cottage, on a hill that overlooked a wide view of the southern part of the county and the eastern of Glamorgan: a bleak place for children to assemble at. When I entered, the young tenants of one desk, in number about a dozen, were all huddled up at one end of it with their heads together

¹ *Minutes*, 1839-40, pp. 175-192.

examining some object of curiosity. A boy was playing with a stick on the floor. In one corner stood a basin of dirty water and a kettle. On a shelf was a piece of raw mutton in a pie dish. While I was putting down the answers to my questions I saw a ruddy little fellow with his face half immersed in his master's mug of beer, drinking eagerly, and watching with upturned eyes the movements of the defrauded pedagogue."

These descriptions do not appear in the printed report, as their author felt that publication would defeat the end in view, and make inspection a cause of alarm and concealment. He was satisfied in recommending, as the first means of improvement, the establishment of a few good schools which would serve as models, and especially the establishment of infant schools.

The appointment and control of inspectors, and the interest aroused by the issue of the first volume of the *Minutes*, may be regarded as the two substantial gains during the first year of the existence of the Committee of Council on Education.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS

THE limitations imposed on all educational reformers by the lack of qualified teachers had been repeatedly demonstrated to Dr. Kay in his efforts at Norwood and other Poor Law schools. The Glasgow and Edinburgh Training Schools could not satisfy the demand; and when teacher candidates began to attend at Norwood, with all its imperfections for training, he urged upon the Poor Law Commissioners, and then upon the newly established Committee of Council, the importance of establishing a Government institution. He was disappointed in both directions.

His continental tour with Mr. Tufnell in 1839, and especially the impressions he gained when visiting Vehrli, decided him that the experiment must be tried in England, and we have seen¹ that in October, on his return, he wrote to Mr. Lefevre to declare his willingness to found a Training School at his own risk. Mr. Tufnell offered to share with him the financial burden. During the autumn Bishop Stanley of Norwich, and other liberal clergy and laymen, expressed their approval of his scheme, and Battersea was chosen, partly because the Vicar, the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden,² offered his help in giving religious instruction and in placing his village schools at the disposal of the students; partly because the old Manor House of Battersea, with its five-acre garden, offered a suitable home.³

¹ See p. 93.

² Afterwards Lord Auckland, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Interesting references to his educational enthusiasms are given by Greville, in his *Memoirs* (September 12 and December 24, 1838).

³ The story of the beginning of Battersea has been told by Dr. Kay himself in the First Report, printed in *Four Periods of Public Education*,

Dr. Kay had decided to guide the early days of the experiment by residing there and himself controlling the details and sharing in the teaching. It is a striking proof of his devotion to the cause for the advance of which his office had been created, that he opened the school during the first busy twelve months of his Secretaryship under the Committee on Education. The thing is unique in educational history, for it is the first and last occasion when the chief official in the Education Office has had daily acquaintance with and directive control over an actual school. And it was more than a school, it was an educational experiment on a large scale, where new methods of teaching were worked out, where continental reforms were first adapted to English conditions, where text-books were prepared, and where methods of training teachers were tested and modified.

Battersea was founded deliberately on the Swiss model. Its primary purpose was to prepare teachers for workhouse and district schools, for schools of industry, for schools which would reconcile the children of the poor to a life of honest toil, while tasting the delight of mental activity and religious communion. Unlike the model schools of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, which received teachers for a few weeks or few months and taught them the bare elements of a "system" of monitorial organisation, the course at Battersea was to be a discipline of body and mind continued over a number of years. It was to create a band of teachers who would go out to their calling in a missionary spirit, carefully instructed, strictly disciplined, and impelled by high ideals. They were to be won early to the joy of hard work and simple fare. They were to be "moved by Christian charity," as were Pestalozzi, De Fellenberg,

pp. 294-386. Its later history may be traced from the Second Report (*Ibid.*, pp. 387-431), which marks the end of his control of the institution, also from various inspectors' reports published in the *Minutes* of the Committee of Council, and from Adkins's *History of St. John's College, Battersea*, as it is now called.

and Vehrli, and, in this school of industry, simplicity, and practical religion, they were to be "fitted for the labour of reclaiming the pauper youth of England to the virtues, and restoring them to the happiness of her best-instructed peasantry."

When the school opened in February, 1840, Dr. Kay and his mother and sister were already installed there, and eight pupil teachers were brought from Norwood as the first students. They formed one family in the large Manor House, Dr. Kay busy with a dozen occupations in house and garden, Mrs. and Miss Kay equally busy with domestic duties, softening the rough places, nursing the sick, and acting as foster-mothers to their new and growing family. Two tutors were also appointed: Mr. Horne, whose work in East Anglia and at Norwood has already been described, and Mr. Tate, a self-taught man, who achieved a reputation afterwards as a writer of mathematical and scientific text-books. Some time later, when the village school was reorganised, Mr. McLeod was also brought from Norwood as headmaster.

The young students were provided with a "plain, dark dress of rifle green, and a working dress of fustian cord." They were to be apprenticed for seven years, at least three of which should be devoted to instruction, and two years to teaching practice in the Battersea village school,¹ followed by a period as assistant teachers under experienced headmasters. Arrangements were also made for the reception of older pupils between twenty and thirty years of age for a period of training extending through one year or more, and in January, 1841, the date of the First Report, there were twenty-four pupils of the first class and nine of the second.

The religious instruction was based on Church teaching, and the pupils attended Battersea parish church on Sundays; but admission was not refused to the members of other communions, although it was pointed out to them that unity was important, and that if they could

¹ It is impossible to tell from the language of the Report whether the three years' instruction included the two years' teaching or not.

not join in the general form of worship they would be better advised not to enter.¹

The most striking feature of Battersea Training School was its internal economy.

"The schoolmaster," wrote the founder, "ought to be prepared in thought and feeling to do the peasant-father's duty, by having sentiments in common with him, and among these an honest pride in the labour of his hands, in his strength, his manual skill, his robust health, and the manly vigour of his body and mind."

To this end the pupils were required to make their own beds, scrub floors, clean their boots, lay the tables, prepare the vegetables; just as out-of-doors they had to look after the two cows, three pigs, and three goats which belonged to the establishment, to clear the neglected garden of weeds, and grow vegetables and fruit for the needs of the community. This healthy labour was to safeguard them from the danger of forming "a false estimate of their position in relation to the class to which they belonged." They were Spartan days: all were up at five-thirty (including the tutors, "except when prevented by sickness"), and domestic duties and garden occupied them till eight o'clock. Meals, school, and garden alternated through the long day until nine at night, making in all about fourteen hours of mental and bodily labour.

Nor was the régime found injurious. So judiciously was change of occupation arranged that health improved and appetites increased, although no artificial enticements found a place in the diet. At other training schools the same long hours were in fashion, but as no out-of-door occupations were provided owing to the brief period of residence, and as exercise and sleep were sacrificed to the crowded hour of learning, it was alleged by one inspector of the Borough Road School that the shortness of their stay alone made the training of the students "consistent with health."² Some of the garden

¹ See Rev. J. Allen's Report on Battersea (*Minutes*, 1842-3, p. 64).

² *Minutes*, 1846, vol. ii. p. 349.

work at Battersea was afterwards replaced by gymnastic exercises and by drill, for which was claimed as a result the foundation of the moral virtues, and there were also long day excursions afield, when Dr. Kay taxed the students' powers of observation, or took them to Norwood or to Greenwich to see reformed schools at work. He justifies these educational journeys in a long passage which now seems superfluous, but which at the time of writing was a piece of educational insight :

"In all that relates to the external phenomena of the world the best book is Nature, with an intelligent interpreter. What concerns the social state of man may be best apprehended after lessons in the fields, the ruins, the mansions, and the streets within the range of the school. . . . Elementary schools, in which word-teaching only exists, do not produce earnest and truthful men."

The methods of intellectual education were based on his study of continental reformers, and especially on Pestalozzian principles. Beginning with the concrete he linked up first conceptions with the motive of utility, and approached abstractions only as the learner's mind became prepared for them.

"Nothing has been taught *dogmatically*," he wrote, "but everything by the combination of the simplest elements : *i.e.* the course which a discoverer must have trod has been followed, and the way in which truths have been ascertained pointed out by a synthetical demonstration of each successive step."

In this way he emphasised a principle of eternal validity, and one which successive reformers have had to re-interpret to their age. Book knowledge is not enough :

"Books are not resorted to until the teacher is convinced that the mind of his pupil is in a state of healthful activity ; that there has been awakened in him a lively interest in truth, and that he has become acquainted practically with the inductive method of acquiring knowledge."

The youthfulness of the students and the meagreness of their previous training compelled the tutors to begin with the elements. The syllabus was an amalgam: reading was taught on the phonic method as in Germany, oral grammar as at the Edinburgh Sessional School, writing according to the method of Mülhauser, arithmetic as advocated by Pestalozzi. The needs of the elementary school were emphasised in all methods, and great stress was laid upon the practical utility of knowledge as a motive in learning :

“ Unless, in elementary schools, the instruction proceed beyond the knowledge of abstract rules to their actual application to the practical necessities of life, the scholar will have little interest in his studies, because he will not perceive their importance, and, moreover, when he leaves the school, they will be of little use, because he has not learned to apply his knowledge to any purpose.”

So mensuration and land surveying, mechanics and heat, the keeping of simple accounts, drawing and design were taught, because they were near the experience of the poor and admitted of abundant illustration in the practical concerns of their life.

But important as was the utility motive it was not allowed to exclude others. Drawing was introduced also because of its beneficial influence on taste, and a French method of drawing from objects was adopted. Vocal music was taught, partly because it increased the solemnity and impressiveness of religious worship, partly because it was a means of increasing the sum of happiness in the worker's life, and the method of Wilhem, consisting of a clearly analysed series of exercises, which enabled a student to progress gradually until he was able “ to read music with ease, and to sing with skill and expression even difficult music at sight,” was introduced to Battersea by Mr. Hullah, who in August of 1840 was present with Dr. Kay at Wilhem's singing classes for artisans at the Halle aux Draps in Paris. Geography was also recognised as important because of the width of outlook it could give, and also

because, taught in a proper way on Pestalozzian principles, it could provide "a constant exercise to the reasoning powers." A special room at Battersea had its walls prepared "in order that bold projections of maps might be made on a great scale." Dr. Kay himself gave lectures on the theory and art of education, and helped to lift pedagogy in England from a "system" to a science.

These subjects of intellectual training were, of course, subordinate to the ultimate aim of education—the formation of moral and religious character. He quotes Guizot with "unqualified concurrence" in his description of the ideal schoolmaster,

"a man not ignorant of his rights, but thinking much more of his duties ; showing to all a good example, and serving to all as a counsellor ; not given to change his condition, but satisfied with his situation, because it gives him the power of doing good ; and who has made up his mind to live and to die in the service of primary instruction, which to him is the service of God and his fellow-creatures."

This ideal Dr. Kay sought by every means within his power to realise, and he held almost daily conferences with the tutors on questions of control.

"It was my desire," he wrote afterwards, in a private letter, "never to assume a tone of authority, but to make myself acquainted with the views of each master, sometimes separately, and sometimes when they were all assembled in my room. If I found reason to think his views in any respect erroneous, I by no means deemed it desirable to attempt to convince his judgment by argument at once, but rather suggested new views for reflection, and placed new facts before his mind. In this way I found that, without appearing to direct the opinions of the whole body of masters, they were gradually moulded on my own without any such sudden transitions in the school as would certainly have impaired their authority, and thus greatly increased the difficulties of the management.

"I endeavoured to be present in the school in each master's person by pre-occupying his mind rather than

by exercising authority over his acts. I very seldom thought it desirable to enter the classrooms during any lesson, and if I did so I made my presence a compliment to the master, or I came at his request. Our conference afterwards in private suggested to the master the impressions I had received from my visit.

"On the general discipline of the schools I have likewise considered it wise to call the masters on all occasions into conference, and to confine our communications to the students to the admonitions which we were agreed would be salutary. We then entered the school together. I took the seat of the superior, and spoke in the name of the masters, occasionally appealing to them for an expression of their opinion, and taking care neither to say nor to do anything which could impair their authority."

Modern theory would be inclined to criticise the course at Battersea as too rigid, too much governed by a time-table, too closely controlled by scheduled requirements. No moment was free from occupation, and no occupation, with the exception stated below, was free from a tutor's superintendence. The only recreation was a change of work. It must be remembered, of course, that the early students were young, and in many cases came from unsatisfactory homes and parish workhouses, and Dr. Kay did devise means by which a pupil might win his way to self-discipline:

"A gradual trial of the pupil's powers of self-guidance is commenced; first, by entrusting him with certain studies unassisted by the teacher. Those who zealously and successfully employ their time will, by degrees, be entrusted with a greater period for self-sustained intellectual or physical exertion."

Meanwhile, the discipline was not harsh; the masters, if they were always in sight, were "not disposed to exercise authority so much as to give assistance and advice." They sat at meals with them, and set a fashion of "familiar yet serious" intercourse. It was a family life which they all lived in common, and no mechanical system.

Eulogy was soon forthcoming from different sources. The Vicar of Battersea reported on January 1, 1841 :

"I am quite satisfied that the students in general have not only an accurate and extensive knowledge of the Bible, but right views of the Christian dispensation. It is satisfactory to observe that the best papers were returned by the young men who have been the longest in training, a proof that whilst much attention has been devoted to secular knowledge their religious instruction has been successful. I think it right to add that their moral conduct has been excellent as far as I can judge, and I have had almost daily intercourse with them."

More special, but equally emphatic, was the Earl of Chichester, who had sent a boy to the institution at his own charge, and testified to the success of the venture in the following letter to Dr. Kay :

"When I sent him to Battersea I had a high opinion of his moral character, but his stock of information was very scanty indeed, which, added to his natural diffidence of manner, made me doubt whether he would ever become an efficient teacher. The result has been beyond my most sanguine expectations. When he returned to me I not only found him well grounded in all those branches of knowledge which are required for a village schoolmaster, but much more capable of imparting what he knew than I ever expected to find him."

Similar testimony was given by the Earl of Radnor, by the Duke of Sutherland who appointed three students to schools on his estate in 1843, and by others. There were critics, of course: Noel Byron, of Ealing Grove, quoted De Fellenberg's doubts whether the plan could succeed when it was so closely connected with a clergyman and a Government; others were hostile because it was not sufficiently associated with a Church and a party. But interest grew and patrons increased: the Duke of Sutherland, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Chichester, Earl Grosvenor, Earl Radnor, Lady Noel Byron, and many others, sent voluntary subscriptions; school promoters sought their

teachers there, and a succession of trained men began to be sent to Government schools, to Norwood, Greenwich, Chelsea, Parkhurst, etc., as well as abroad.¹ The Prince Consort visited it, and early in 1842 consented to become the Patron. Queen Victoria also gave permission that the certificates should bear the Royal Arms.

As at Norwood a few years before, visitors in increasing numbers came to see the new wonder. Interesting glimpses into this side of Battersea life are given by the following extracts from a private diary kept by Mrs. Davenport, of Capesthorpe, Cheshire, which also introduce the reader to her first cousin, Janet, only child of Robert Shuttleworth, of Gawthorpe. Dr. Kay married her in February of the following year,² when he assumed by Royal Licence the name Kay-Shuttleworth. Before that date Sir Francis Grant had painted the portrait of Miss Shuttleworth, which is here reproduced.

“Monday, May 3, 1841. Set off in pouring rain to Battersea to see the school at Dr. Kay’s house. Found there Mr., Mrs., and Miss Shakespeare, Mrs. Burton Phillips, Mrs. Austin, and the Bishops of Durham and Lichfield. Mr. and Mrs. Strutt arrived soon after. The boys were explaining different principles of mechanics, and very well. The Bishop of Lichfield proposed they should explain the common pump. This they did very well, he asking them several questions and making them go back when they went too fast. A young Maltese, who is to keep a school at Malta, then did a grammatical lesson, and a nice little fellow of thirteen parsed and construed a sentence, all showing how thoroughly well they were grounded. All were made to express their meaning so very precisely, in order to fit them to teach others. They were all very neatly dressed, looked very intelligent, and appeared very fond of Dr. Kay and Mr. Tufnell, and very happy. The most wonderful and beautiful part was the singing. . . . Thursday, June 10. At half-past eight in the morning Mr. Davenport, Miss Shuttleworth,² the Bishop of

¹ *Minutes*, 1842-3, p. 118.

² See pp. 326, 327.

Norwich, I, and Arthur, went down to Battersea to hear first the Bible lesson at the village school, then to breakfast with the Edens, back to the village school for arithmetic, and writing, and singing. We then walked to Dr. Kay's, and saw his garden and the boys at work. . . . Thursday (no date). Mr. Ottley and I lunched with Mrs. and Miss Kay; Dr. Kay not at home, but two very nice young men, brothers, who are at Cambridge. Mrs. Kay is a charming old lady, so full of kind interest about the school. I saw the young man who is to come to us,¹ and of whom the ladies gave the highest possible character. Mr. Hullah lunched there. We went afterwards to the village school, and stayed a long time, hearing McLeod's lecture on water, which was admirable. . . . Thursday, May 26, 1842. We went down to Battersea to a sort of lunch dinner which Mrs. Kay gave the boys and masters, to take leave of one of the latter, who is going to New Zealand to take charge of eighty of the Parkhurst boys whom the Government are sending out to be apprenticed there. It was a very interesting day."²

At the conclusion of the first year the experiment had cost its promoters £1,283, and the second year was estimated to require £2,000; but they were confident that, when the worth of the school was realised, funds would be forthcoming, or Government support secured. In fact, the hope of the latter came early, though its realisation was delayed. In June, 1841, the Committee of Council decided

"that in any estimate to be laid before Parliament a sum should be included for the purpose of enabling the Committee to defray such part of the expenses of the school at Battersea as may appear to be a reasonable compensation for the benefit derived to the Poor Law Commissioners, or any public Institutions connected with the State, in obtaining schoolmasters for schools under their direction or that of any other Department of the Executive,"

¹ A student who was intended for the school at Capesthorpe.

² Greville records a visit he paid to the Battersea schools in February, 1842, together with Lord and Lady John Russell, Charles Howard, and Macaulay (Part II. vol. ii. 86, 87).

a cautious principle whose application was delayed by the change of Ministry in the summer of 1841.

The new President of the Council was Lord Wharncliffe, and at the commencement of 1842, Dr. Kay and Mr. Tufnell prepared a statement for him which gives detailed information of the finances of the institution. Thirteen pupils had been sent out to take charge of schools, and there were then present thirty-six students, half of them sent by private patrons, the others wholly or partially at the charge of the founders. The fees charged to patrons (£20 a year for boys between fourteen and eighteen, £30 for young men over eighteen) did not cover the cost, and the deficit in two years amounted to £2,056. Dr. Kay was about to leave Battersea,¹ and the appointment of a Rector, and the increased charge on the school of that portion of rent and rates hitherto borne by him for his share of the house, would mean an additional burden on the school, so he and Mr. Tufnell appealed to the Government for a grant of £1,000 per annum. In return for this sum they offered to train twenty-five pupils for schools of a public character, and in order to expedite the supply of teachers they proposed to receive students of eighteen years and upwards for a period of twelve or eighteen months. But if Government support had seemed to be secure in June, 1841, it was not until November 11, 1842, after a delay of seventeen months, that a grant of £1,000 was made,² "the right of inspection being secured in perpetuity," and there was no guarantee of its repetition.

Dr. Kay left Battersea in February, describing the farewell gathering in a letter :

"We dined together, *i.e.* the masters and pupils of the Training School and Village School, Tufnell, my mother and sister, Eden and Mitchell, and some of the masters' wives. After dinner, toasts and little farewell

¹ After his marriage (Feb., 1842) his mother and sister continued to reside there, and continued his traditions until he transferred the college to other management, at the end of 1843. See p. 121.

² *Minutes*, 1842-3, p. 1.

speeches, and a long address of advice and farewell blessing from me. Then fireworks in the garden, squibs, wheels, Roman candles, all sorts of fire and rockets. Singing followed in the Singing Hall, then tea, and lastly prayers. We were very happy, because we were all, I hope, simply and unaffectedly giving demonstrations of our mutual regard and good will."

The first Government inspector's report is dated August 18, 1843,¹ and was written after two visits of inspection. It bestows praise with a lavish hand, condemning nothing, and concludes with a eulogy of the founders:

"It must be noted with especial gratification that amongst those who are most distinguished for intellectual attainments, and who bear rank also with the very first for moral qualifications, are the majority of those pupils who have been selected by Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth and Mr. Tufnell from the establishments for training pauper children, and who are now raised into a sphere of action where there is every reason to hope that, under the Divine blessing, they will be numbered among the most useful members of society. When it is taken into account that these started into life not simply from the lowest grade of society, but also under the measureless disadvantage of never having known a parent's care, one cannot but feel that the being permitted to accomplish even one such result is far more than an adequate return for all that has been laid out. . . .

"One cannot help feeling, also, a peculiar interest in the progress and success of this institution, regarding it as established by two individuals, not of large means, but whose chief strength lay in the strong perceptions of, and sympathy with, the degraded and suffering condition of millions among their fellow-citizens, and in their determination under Providence to contribute somewhat towards the achievement of a radical cure."

Meanwhile Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth (as he was now known) had realised that, unless the Government made an annual grant, the experiment was in danger of coming to an end. Beyond Christmas, 1843, he and Mr. Tufnell

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 60-117.

felt that they could not go on unaided. There was a loss of £20 on each pupil over and above the fee charged, and he was harassed by the knowledge that economy had impaired the efficiency of the school. The masters were too few and they were insufficiently paid. Horne had been compelled by tuberculosis, intensified by overwork, to leave England. The highest salary paid was £140.

In July, 1843, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth made an urgent appeal to the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, asking for an early decision whether the Government could supply the estimated annual deficiency of £1,500, and giving, as the grounds of his appeal, some account of what had been done :

“It has become the type on which other normal schools have been founded, and has thus raised the standard of education for elementary teachers. It has been useful in illustrating methods of organisation and instruction in schools, with which it was desirable the inspectors should be familiar. It affords the means of preparing the inspectors for the discharge of their public duties, and of thus increasing the efficiency of the inspection of schools. Without its aid the Committee of Council could not readily afford assistance to other departments of the public service by selecting and training schoolmasters.”

These weighty claims were extended in a supplementary letter to Lord Wharncliffe in August, when it was added that various manuals of method, published by the sanction and under the direction of the Committee of Council, had been first introduced at Battersea and there “subjected to constant trials while in course of preparation.” Five such manuals had been published, comprising Singing, Drawing, Writing, Arithmetic, and Reading, and a sixth on Geography was then in preparation, and all had been written, or translated, or adapted by the staff at Battersea.

The Government gave no sign, and support halted. Church friends thought the basis of the college was too liberal, and pointed to the inspector's report that Dissenters were not refused admission. The Dissenters

themselves preferred the British and Foreign School Society's system at Borough Road.

"I feel absolutely certain," wrote a candid friend in September, "that none but the extremest low party in the Church will permanently take masters from an institution with such a constitution. Their support you would not be comforted with—it would only weaken you. The Dissenters, of course, will never take masters from you—that again, if they would, you would not like, and it would destroy you. The party that would seek your masters would then be only Lord Radnor, the Bishop of Norwich, the Duke of Sutherland, etc., etc.,—excellent people in their way, but still their exclusive support, though it might strengthen you as a private individual, yet must weaken you as Secretary to the Education Board."

It was an unpromising outlook for the denominational solution!

At length, an offer by the Government of £2,200, on condition that the premises were taken on a lease and that a reasonable guarantee of permanence were given, induced Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth to propose a scheme¹ by which the Government would have offered maintenance grants to students in training, on condition that such students served for a period of years in a school connected with the public service. If this were conceded he offered to secure an annual sum of £500 or £600, which he estimated would be required in addition. His hope at the time was that Battersea would secure the support of the liberal party in the Church and of the moderate Dissenters, when he issued a public appeal. The social condition of the people in 1843 and the aggression of the Oxford Movement were to him reasons strong enough for an alliance between the two wings, and he hoped for a time that Battersea might well become a link and a motive for joint action. He turned for advice to Lord John Russell and Lord Lansdowne, but their replies were not encouraging. The former declared his preference for the principle of the British and Foreign

¹ *Four Periods of Public Education*, pp. 424-5.

School Society, the principle of religious freedom, and advised an appeal to the large manufacturing towns. If that failed, he did not hesitate to suggest the abandonment of the undertaking.

"I am of opinion," he wrote, "that no effort that can be made by individuals can support a training school as it ought to be supported. The State can, the State ought to support a good normal and a good model school, and it is much to be regretted that the Committee of Council have decided not to give an annual grant to Battersea."

Lord Lansdowne's reply was not much more encouraging, and Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth decided that the exertions required to raise the necessary subscriptions were inconsistent with his official position.

One last possibility remained, namely, that Battersea might be transferred to a committee of moderate Churchmen within the National Society, who would maintain much of its religious character and continue its methods. In announcing his decision to seek such a solution to Lord Lansdowne and Lord John Russell he expressed his conviction that less harm would be done by transference than by abandonment at such a juncture.

On October 5, therefore, he wrote to the Bishop of London, and laid before him the position :

"I have hesitated to make any contribution to the great fund¹ which the National Society has been engaged in collecting, partly because my own schools at Gawthorpe, and one which I am now engaged in founding at Barbon, consume a considerable portion of my income, and also because I should prefer to act with that portion of the Society who desire with the Archbishop of Canterbury and your lordship that the schools connected with it should be conducted on more comprehensive principles. . . . It has, however, frequently occurred to me that the most valuable contribution which I could make to the National Society would be to confide the future management of these schools at

¹ See Chapter V. p. 157.

Battersea to a committee so selected from that body as to ensure the confidence of the clergy of the great towns. I should be prepared to give my services during a period of transition, but in my official position I should *not* permanently assist the committee of management.

"It would seem to me indispensable that, in addition to the Archbishop of Canterbury and your lordship, Mr. Sinclair and Lords Ashley and Chichester should consent to become members of the committee, and that my friend Tufnell should be associated with them. . . . If your lordship is disposed to reciprocate this frank expression of my views, by favouring me with your opinion on the plan, I will immediately consult my friend Tufnell, to whom I have said nothing on the subject, but whose acquiescence I anticipate. . . . My chief motive in seeking the formation [of the committee of management] is to retain as much as possible of the present constitution of these schools, and especially the continuance in office of the present masters and the permanency of their methods of instruction."

The founding of St. Mark's Training College, Chelsea, in 1841, had been an attempt by the High Church section of the National Society to secure a succession of masters holding views nearer their own than Battersea was trying to create, and some amount of rivalry had appeared between the two institutions. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's anxiety to secure a managing committee of liberal Churchmen sprang partly from his own sympathies with that group, partly from the dangers of committing Battersea to so heterogeneous a body as the National Society. An additional reason for his refusal to serve on the proposed managing committee of Battersea is given in another letter of the time:

"I cannot for the present co-operate in educational arrangements with this section of the Church, because they are intolerant to Dissenters; but I believe they will ere long find that the Dissenters are their most powerful allies in resisting the anti-Protestant party in the Church."

Bishop Blomfield replied on October 23 with a cordial general welcome to the proposal:

"I feel very strongly," he wrote, "that the results of your disinterested liberality (I include, of course, Mr. Tufnell) ought not to be lost to the great cause of national education; and that in some way or other your plans should be carried on."

But on the question of management he expressed doubts as to whether they were wise in seeming to suggest rivalry with St. Mark's. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth disclaimed any thought of rivalry, and expressed his willingness to agree to any proposal that would secure the aim he had in view:

"If the same character can be impressed on the schools in any other way, we are not fastidious as to the means, so that the end can be secured. My friend Tufnell desires me to say that, though he would be willing to give such assistance as his public duties would enable him to afford, he is not desirous to stipulate that he should be a member of a committee, the meetings of which he could seldom attend."

Negotiations proceeded smoothly and quickly, and after some hesitation concerning the re-appointment of Mr. Tate, the original tutor, Battersea was taken over by the National Society, the committee of which resolved, on December 6, 1843: "That the secretary be instructed to write letters to Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth and Mr. Tufnell, announcing the acceptance of their kind and liberal proposal." A sum of £10,000 was allocated, from the fund recently collected, towards meeting the expenses of the first seven years, and, with the approval of Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, the Rev. Thomas Jackson was appointed Principal. Mrs. and Miss Kay gave up possession of the Manor House, and the first stage of a notable experiment came to an end.

Lord Wharncliffe, with his attitude of official caution, expressed his relief in a letter that suggests a minor difficulty that had underlain Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's work:

"I congratulate you," he said, "upon the termination of your treaty with the National Society about Battersea, nor do I think that the influence of the Committee

of Council itself upon public education will be at all injured by the transfer. I have, I confess, for some time thought that the school placed both you and the Committee of Council in somewhat of a false position, and was a constant source of jealousy to both Church and Dissenters, from being looked upon as our model, to which we and you were determined to bring their schools. Now Battersea and St. Mark's may become rivals, if the Church think proper, and we shall have nothing to do in the matter."

The Prince Consort, with more educational enthusiasm, wrote in some alarm when he heard the rumour, and asked Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth to go and see him.

The final word of the founders was spoken in their Second Report,¹ which was written by Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth. It is both a report and a confession, for it makes admission of partial failure, and is written partly to forewarn the promoters of such institutions of the peculiar difficulties of the problem. The experience of Battersea proved, they thought, that segregation at an early age fitted teachers for rural parishes only, but did not prepare them to meet successfully the conditions prevailing in large towns; they were too inexperienced and too raw for the responsibilities they were expected to bear. They suggested, therefore, the setting up of town normal schools, where experienced masters and apprenticed assistants would meet for study and discussion, a work done in Holland by schoolmasters' societies which conducted evening classes for their pupil teachers prior to the course in a normal school.

"This appears to us," says the Report, "a course of training peculiarly well adapted to the formation of masters for the great schools of large towns, and likewise for supplying these great schools, during the education of the pupil teacher, with the indispensable aid of a body of assistant masters. . . . The formation of a body of pupil teachers in each great town, thus instructed by a society of schoolmasters, is an object

¹ Reprinted in *Four Periods of Public Education*, pp. 387-431.

worthy of encouragement from the Committee of Council, who might at least provide the fees and charges of apprenticeship, and grant exhibitions for the training of the most successful pupil teachers in a normal school at the close of their apprenticeship."

Here, clearly, is a definite stage in the evolution of the pupil teacher system. Begun in a parish workhouse, organised at Norwood, and extended at Battersea, it was now in process of adaptation to the needs of a national system. The four years' experience at Battersea had shown a better way, hence the gradual raising of the age of admission there until it became eighteen or twenty, and the conviction in Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's mind that a long practical training in and knowledge of the schools for the poor should precede the course at a normal school.

A second general conclusion in the Report is the insistence on the need for guarding the teacher-mind from the evils to which it is especially prone : intellectual pride, assumption of superiority, selfish ambition. Mr. Tufnell, in a private letter pointing out the necessity for emphasising this evil in the Report, wrote :

"From the commencement of our labours we have been attentive observers of the proceedings of foreign normal schools ; and the errors into which they have fallen, by a neglect of simplicity and by encouraging too high aspirations among the students, have been a continual warning to us to avoid similar blunders. In Bavaria and Baden strong measures have been found necessary to repress this spirit among the normal students. In some parts of Switzerland and Prussia complaints have been made against their vain and silly airs, and assumption of superiority to all around them. In France the normal schools had not been generally established more than seven years when an outcry was raised for their reform, on account of the intolerable pride and affectation displayed by those masters who had been educated in them. The result was that many of the communes positively refused to elect masters who had been educated in normal schools. '*Nous ne voulons pas de vos élèves,*' was the exclamation of several of the Mayors, '*ce sont des messieurs de la ville.*' We

congratulate ourselves that among the fifty students who have left this institution we have had but one or two complaints on this score, and we would point out the danger to all who undertake the management of similar establishments, lest by falling into it a check be placed in the way of these useful institutions, and it be said of England as it was by a great authority in France: 'L'orgueil est devenu le fléau des écoles normales primaires.'

It was in order to guard against this danger that Battersea had been made a place of heavy outdoor labour, simple diet, incessant vigilance and religious training. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's ideal teacher was both industrious and intelligent, imbued with a spirit of self-denial, a willing servant of the community, and a pattern of frugality and simplicity of life.¹ He prepared his pupils for the varied duties of a schoolmaster's lot, for Sunday school work, for the management of sick and clothing clubs, for library management, for choir training and organ playing—an ideal that has long been lost through the confusion of the terms "service" and "perfect freedom."

Another general conclusion drawn from their experience was the recognition of the value of the model school, both as a place of experiment for the testing of methods and ideas, and for its practical value to students in training. "Without this, the most judicious labour in the normal school may, so far as the future usefulness of the student as a schoolmaster is concerned, be literally wasted." And from Battersea village school there came a literature of pedagogy unique in its day, and perhaps never since equalled for its quantitative influence over the elementary schools of this country. The term "model" school, however, was unfortunate, and was misunderstood at the time, for critics wrote to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth to question the wisdom of organising the school in seven classes on the "simultaneous" method, when the bulk of the schools throughout the land had only one teacher. But the criticism was invalid, and

¹ See *Four Periods of Public Education*, pp. 399 seq.

based on a misreading of the title: it is only in recent times that the term "experimental" school has gained currency.

Subsequent reports¹ on Battersea show that the initial impetus was sufficient to carry it almost unchanged over the period of transition, and later. In 1844 and 1845 the age of admission was limited to over twenty and under thirty-six years of age, and the aim was "the preparation of schoolmasters chiefly for manufacturing and mining districts." The minimum period of residence was one year, the maximum two years. There was little internal change: early rising, domestic duties and garden occupations still played an important part, and a workshop had been added and a printing press installed. The distinguishing characteristic of the college, for so it was henceforth called, was still the emphasis laid on the practical problem of teaching children, and Battersea remained, in the words of an inspector, the one place "where the methods of elementary instruction are recognised as legitimate subjects of research, and where teaching is studied as an art."

One striking early result of the creation of Battersea was the impetus it gave to the founding of Church training colleges all over the country. Already in 1839 the Bishop of Norwich was in communication with Dr. Kay concerning the establishment of one in that city, and at Chester a start was made in the same year. These provincial colleges were small and primitive in their beginnings, and housed in temporary buildings, as at Chester, where a house was hired, a principal appointed, and work begun in 1840 before any collegiate buildings were erected.² Their chief aim was to raise the standard of instruction among teachers, and not, as at Battersea, to explore the whole problem of the teaching process. On December 29, 1841, Chester received a building grant of £2,500, the first award to the provinces.

The most prominent of the new colleges was St. Mark's, Chelsea, founded by the National Society on the

¹ *Minutes*, 1845, vol. ii. pp. 7-77, and later volumes.

² *Minutes*, 1841-2, pp. 68-72.

Battersea model, and opened in May, 1841. Its principal was the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, whose *Letter* and *Sermon*,¹ quoted freely by the Rev. J. Allen in his First Report,¹ show that the view advocated there was that the Church is the teacher of the nation, and the schoolmaster is the "living, intelligent, and responsible" agent in carrying out the Church system, a High Church view which found devoted supporters and determined opponents within the National Society. In secular matters the two neighbouring colleges had much in common: the pupils of St. Mark's, boys in their middle 'teens, got up early, performed domestic duties, laboured in the garden, attended the model school and ate a simple diet exactly as did the pupils at Battersea, the one ostensible difference being that, at St. Mark's, one relaxation, one item of luxury was enjoyed, for "a cup of small beer" was served at dinner! But where Battersea succeeded so markedly in its work of training teachers, Chelsea, in its early days, failed to satisfy Her Majesty's Inspector:

"I discerned no sufficient evidence," wrote Inspector Moseley,² "of that power of commanding the attention of a class, that facility of exposition, that practised skill in simplification, that aptitude in examination, or that easy ascendancy over the minds of children, which unite to form a skilful teacher."

A list of the Church training colleges established by 1845 is given in the *Minutes* of the Committee of Council,³ when they amounted to twenty-two in number, and contained about 540 students. Battersea was then the largest with seventy-one pupils, Lincoln the smallest with one. They covered the whole country, from Brighton to Durham, from Lincoln to Llandaff. The period of training varied from three years at St.

¹ *Minutes*, 1842-3, pp. 283-400. See also *A Letter on the National Society's Training College for Schoolmasters, Stanley Grove, Chelsea*, 1842. It offers very fair tribute to the Battersea College.

² *Minutes*, 1844, vol. i. pp. 582-625.

³ *Minutes*, 1845, vol. i. pp. 333-4.

Mark's, to three months at Norwich and Llandaff. Several of them, of course, were merely schools with a small training department attached, but the list is eloquent proof of the fact that Battersea had helped to awaken every diocese in the country to a realisation of the need for improved teachers. It was the Church that had prevented the Government from doing the work, and it was Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth who, in large measure, stimulated the Church to accept the responsibility of its position. To him more than to any other man belongs the credit of arousing the country to the importance of efficient teachers, and of establishing the value of adequate training.

Concurrently with the development of Battersea, and closely associated with it, a series of teachers' manuals was published, under the authority of the Committee of Council, to make known the continental reforms in methods of teaching which he had investigated. In order to adapt the phonic method of teaching reading to English conditions, a Dresden schoolmaster was selected by Mr. Tufnell in 1840, and brought to Battersea so that he might arrange English words according to their phonic character. In the end, the purely phonic method was discarded, and Wood's method of using words, instead of arbitrary combinations of letters, was employed. Similarly after some months' trial of Mülhauser's method of teaching writing, his *Manual* was translated and published.¹ Pestalozzi's methods of teaching arithmetic were tested for two years, and then adapted and published by Mr. Tate. Similarly, the method of drawing invented by Dupuis was tried for eighteen months before the manual was published. Most famous of all was Hullah's translation and adaptation of the manual of vocal music which had been published by Wilhem under the sanction of the Minister

¹ An amusing attack is made on this book in a pamphlet by W. C. A., called *The Schoolmaster Vindicated* (1842). It contains a bibliography of writing-books to show that there is nothing new in the method, and not altogether unfairly condemns the book for its "trifling remarks and nursery directions."

of Public Instruction in France. In all these productions Dr. Kay took more than an intense interest: he was almost a joint author.

Nor was this all. The good things of Battersea were deemed to be worthy of wider knowledge, and, in the autumn of 1840, he published a prospectus of a singing school at Exeter Hall under Hullah. The first draft of the prospectus was written in such language as drew from the cautious Lord President a rebuke that it was doubtful whether it was a private advertisement or a *Minute* of the Committee of Council; but a second draft secured not only his approval, but also his financial support, and subscriptions were also given by many of Dr. Kay's friends, including the Bishop of Norwich, the Bishop of Hereford, the Earl of Chichester, Lord Clarendon, Lord John Russell, and Lord Morpeth. "The Singing School for Schoolmasters" began on February 1, 1841, and on February 4 it was visited by Queen Adelaide, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lansdowne, and others, and was illustrated in the *Illustrated London News*. It was attended by a hundred schoolmasters, but so great was the demand that a second class of a hundred opened on March 1, a third on March 22, and two days afterwards a hundred schoolmistresses were also gathered in. Enthusiasm was unbounded, and England, for the second time, became a nest of singing birds! In the following autumn, the course of sixty-three lessons having been completed, three hundred pupils petitioned the Committee of Council to grant financial aid in order that an advanced class might be held. This upper school was inaugurated on December 1. The elementary classes were also opened to the general public in the spring of 1841. In April, 1842, 1,500 persons sang at a choral meeting, and in 1843 more than 2,300 pupils joined the elementary and advanced classes.

Other classes were also begun, and drawing, writing, and arithmetic were taught on the methods already described. On April 19, 1842, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth gave a lecture to the pupils on "The Constructive

Method of Teaching,"¹ which was an elaborate exposition of synthetic methods, with illustrations from reading, writing, and drawing.

The Battersea pupils were also used at Exeter Hall for the purpose of demonstration, though Mr. Tufnell advised "as few exhibitions as possible of our normal pupils," and a select group accompanied Mr. Hullah to provincial towns, where popular enthusiasm was greater, if that were possible, than in London.²

The cost of the classes was very great, and, although Mr. Hullah gave his services free and himself remunerated his assistants, £3,000 was expended in the first year. The enthusiasm and the energetic expansion of the classes seems to have alarmed Lord Wharncliffe, for, to a proposal in 1842 that a course of lessons in geography should be begun, he replied :

"I am by no means prepared to go one step beyond what we have already done in the way of elementary instruction at Exeter Hall. The giving our sanction to Dr. Read's lectures has even been a step too much in advance, and if at this moment the attempt is made to

¹ Printed in the July Supplement of the *Saturday Magazine*, 1842.

² Mrs. Davenport's private diary reflects this popularity: "Tuesday, November 16, 1841.—About half-past four Mr. and Mrs. Edward Strutt, Miss Otter, and Dr. Kay arrived in an open carriage, and Mr. Joseph Strutt, Miss Fanny Strutt, and Mr. Tufnell in a close ditto. Mr. Greg also arrived. The dinner and evening went off very well, but we went to bed early, as they were all tired, having been at the lecture at Derby the evening before. Friday.—Dined early at five o'clock to be ready to go to the lecture at Macclesfield. Dr. Kay and Mr. Tufnell went early in the day to meet Mr. Hullah and the boys, to take them over a silk mill. The room was very full, and everything passed off very well. Saturday.—At twelve o'clock the party went in a suite of five carriages to Congleton. The lecture there was very well attended and very interesting. The singing of the boys is really delightful and curious; they seem to understand the theory most perfectly." Two years later, June, 1843, the Hullahs were again at Capesthorpe after a triumphal tour: "They gave a most interesting account of the meeting at Manchester. Mr. Hullah says it is by far the most gratifying thing he has witnessed as a result of his system. 1500 workpeople from the towns round, and 5000 spectators in the great hall. They say that at the station, while waiting for the trains afterwards, they stood in groups singing, and also sang as they went along, standing up in the open carriages. An address of thanks to Mr. Hullah, for having placed this means of amusement within their reach, was presented to him." See also *The Life of John Hullah*.

obtain that sanction for lectures in geography, the result will, I fear, be such a discouragement as would be fatal to our progress, which appears likely to be so successful."

It should be added that Lord Wharncliffe, in July, 1842, moved in the House of Lords that a grant should be made in aid of the movement, and estimated that 50,000 persons were then attending the singing classes conducted by Hullah and his assistants in various parts of the country.

The rapid growth of the Exeter Hall classes gave some offence to, and raised alarm amongst, the clergy and a section of the Committee of the National Society. The methods of teaching which were being demonstrated there had the official approval of the Committee of Council, and this seemed to them a dangerous invasion of the Church's rights. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's connection with them, and the large support given to him by the members of the Committee, had raised the suspicion that the classes were controlled by the Government, and not by individuals. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth realised that the position was a delicate one, and in 1843 wrote to his chief clerk, who had helped him in the experiment:

"The whole proceedings at Exeter Hall have from the commencement been so entangled with the acts of the Committee of Council on Education that, unless the Committee withdraw their sanction and approval, the classes ought to be under the control of Lord Wharncliffe by means of his official staff. The classes have hitherto been superintended by the officers of the Committee of Council—the Committee have afforded them their open sanction and approval—the Lord President has frequently visited the classes—has publicly addressed the pupils before large assemblies brought together with his approval, and thus afforded them unequivocal encouragement. His Lordship has also, in the House of Lords, advocated the claims of the institution to aid from the Parliamentary grant. Under the circumstances, whatever is done in Exeter Hall will be regarded as the act of the Committee of Council unless they withdraw

their sanction and approval; and before they are called upon to renew their sanction and approval I think it indispensable that a plan of the proceedings in Exeter Hall should be submitted to the Lord President for approval, in order that he may have an opportunity of deciding how far it is expedient that the Committee should give their future sanction to these classes."

Lord Wharncliffe's reply was non-committal: unless the classes could be self-supporting, and demanded less labour from his staff, he could not think it right to allow them to continue. Ultimately the classes were renewed on a smaller scale in St. Martin's Lane, where they continued for many years, and an agreement signed in 1843 shows that they were conducted at Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's financial risk. Hullah's methods by that time were known throughout the country, and many of his pupils started classes in various centres.

These four years of pioneer work multiplied Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's labours enormously, and the transfer of Battersea did not bring them to an end. He was interested in the fortunes of all the students, their appointments, their promotion, and their difficulties, and they consulted him frequently. The same detailed interest was shown by Mr. Tufnell, who reveals this attitude clearly in a long, indignant letter at the close of 1843, concerning the evil fortune of two old Battersea pupils whom he had just visited. They were masters at the Parkhurst Reformatory, where they were required to work nine hours a day and were paid £20 a year, and were subjected to the irritating oversight of a stern and supercilious chaplain, who kept a register of each teacher's petty faults. Tufnell's anger was roused by the indignities heaped upon them:

"... The chaplain showed me a list of forty-six cases of neglect against —. This looked bad, but on inspection I should have chucked the lot into the fire, as a word in each case is all the notice that ought to have been taken of them. Of these forty-six cases eleven referred to errors in leading the singing. . . . Others referred to little neglects in the duty of *head*

housemaid, which ought never to have been imposed on him. . . . One case was coming into morning service with slippers, an error which any Oxford or Cambridge man would readily pardon, where the same excuse could not be alleged as here, since the Parkhurst masters can only find time to write letters or get up their lessons by sitting up half the night. In fact, it was highly gratifying to me to find that such youthful lads, in such very arduous, responsible and trying situations, could have passed through them so perfectly blameless. They deserve the very highest credit.

"One thing puzzled me, till I got the explanation from ——. 'How is it,' I said to him, 'that with their miserable salaries and enormous duties they stay here at all, when with their qualifications they could have no difficulty in getting other places with far higher salaries and one half the duties? What is the cause why they don't resign?' His reply was, 'You are the cause.' You may imagine the rest of the explanation, in which I suppose you were intended to be included. Now whatever claims I may have on their gratitude for having aided them in getting their education, I must disclaim having ever intended to fix them down to the Egyptian bondage in which they live."

The letter admirably illustrates the inner and hidden meaning of Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's work. The students he trained left Battersea with something of his own devotion to the cause of education, grappling with difficulties in the same indomitable way, and keeping alive the faith he had given them in the ultimate victory.

CHAPTER V

THE EXTENSION OF STATE CONTROL

It has been shown that the State, in 1839, claimed the right of inspection of schools as a condition of building grants, and that, by the following year, three inspectors had been appointed. Their districts were necessarily extensive, for it must be remembered that the majority of the existing schools were closed to them, unless the promoters sought their aid. They made a rapid survey of various districts in England, Wales, and Scotland, and their reports in the first few volumes of the Minutes of the Committee of Council are a record of education as it was in the first period of the Committee's activities. Their work was done under the close direction of the Secretary, who arranged their tours, showed them educational reforms, kept up a voluminous correspondence with them when they were away, criticised their reports, and sometimes returned them with suggested emendations in style and matter before they were printed.

The reports do not make pleasant reading, for they are largely a record of the inefficient and faulty schools that abounded. Those written by the Rev. John Allen are marked by an outspoken and vigorous condemnation of schools and teachers which must have earned for him much deference in his day; those by Mr. Tremmenheere abound in generalisations, and are a valuable record of the state of society and the social factors that were operative then, and their value as historical material does not seem to have been sufficiently recognised. There is much repetition, of course, and the schools are, on the whole, uninviting places,

with their "melancholy aspect," "unwholesome atmosphere," "lamentable deficiency" of books, maps, blackboards, and playgrounds, "wholly incompetent teachers," and "weary and reluctant scholars." Little was taught besides the three R's, and these were in all stages of imperfection: reading was "monotonous," spelling "disgraceful," ignorance "dense," and teaching "dogmatical." Attendance was "irregular," the payment of fees "uncertain," and the organisation "unsatisfactory." If anybody wished to bring an indictment against the schools in the disturbed years of 1841 and 1842 he would find abundant material in these accounts. There are better things to be found in them, of course: in Cornwall and in Scotland the general condition of the schools was far more satisfactory. The inspectors discovered "remarkable and commendable" exceptions to the general rule, "gentle, right-minded" teachers, "of zeal and skill," and schools where "reading and intelligence were tolerably satisfactory." On the whole, it is the bad cases which tend to occupy an unduly large amount of inspectors' reports, and they give, perhaps, a more depressing conception than the facts warrant. Schools existed in every degree of merit, and, as a measure of the two extremes, as well as an illustration of the wide gulf that separated bad from good schools, two typical accounts may be quoted. The first is the dame school:

"I found thirty-one children, from two to seven years of age. The room was a cellar, about ten feet square and about seven feet high. The only window was less than eighteen inches square, and not made to open. Although it was a warm day, towards the close of August, there was a fire burning; and the door, through which alone any air could be admitted, was shut. Of course, therefore, the room was close and hot, but there was no remedy. The damp subterraneous walls required, as the old woman assured us, a fire throughout the year. If she opened the door the children would rush out to light and liberty, while the cold blast rushing in would torment her aged bones with rheumatism. Still further to restrain their vagrant

propensities, and to save them from the danger of tumbling into the fire, she had crammed the children as closely as possible into a dark corner at the foot of her bed. Here they sat in the pestiferous obscurity, totally destitute of books, and without light enough to enable them to read, had books been placed in their hands. Six children, indeed, out of the thirty, had brought some twopenny books; but these also, having been made to circulate through sixty little hands, were now so well soiled and tattered as to be rather the memorials of past achievements than the means of leading the children to fresh exertion. The only remaining instruments of instruction possessed by the dame, who lamented her hard lot, to be obliged, at so advanced an age, to tenant a damp cellar, and to raise the means of paying her rent by such scholastic toils, were a glass-full of sugar-plums, near the tattered leaves on the table in the centre of the room, and a cane by its side, every point in instruction being thus secured by the good old rule of mingling the useful with the sweet.”¹

In contrast with such conditions there were a few schools efficient, alive and progressive, though it is more difficult in quotation to give a striking picture of one. The detailed account of Lady Noel Byron’s school at Ealing Grove, already mentioned² as influencing Dr. Kay in his early inquiries, is the easiest to quote from, as it covers so many aspects of school life. In the first class

“the reading-lessons were so conducted as to become a valuable intellectual exercise. If any inaccuracy arises, or any error in pronunciation, accent, or emphasis, the sentence is read again by the boy making the fault, until it is corrected. An effort is thence induced to be accurate in the first instance. The meaning of the sentence is then required, in their own language; the etymology of every compound word; various derivatives from the same root; the various meanings of the same word; the mode of its use in different senses; the words or clauses in a sentence, in opposition to or in connection with each other; finally, its government, and the

¹ *Minutes*, 1840-1, pp. 162, 163.

² Chapter II. pp. 51, 52.

examples it affords of the rules of grammar and composition. A dozen pages gone through in this manner, slowly and carefully, will have done much towards giving a knowledge of language; while the mental effort required will have raised and strengthened the faculties. The advantage of this kind of training was shown by these boys in their writing exercise. Three questions were proposed to them, on the staple manufactures of the United Kingdom, the most considerable manufacturing countries in Europe, and the most important articles of export and import from the principal rivers of the Baltic, Atlantic, and Mediterranean. In half an hour they had written on an average thirty lines on their slates, well composed, well expressed, and containing only seven errors in spelling among the whole. Part of their ordinary exercise in composition consists in resolving complex sentences read to them, into simple ones. They also write the substance of their object-lessons: the one best expressed is afterwards copied by all into a book. These object-lessons are made the vehicle of conveying a little of the elements of science, and various useful points of information. The store of facts collected in the memorandum book becomes interesting, and is prized accordingly.

"Several arithmetical questions were proposed to them . . . which were worked rapidly, and by various methods, showing an acquaintance with arithmetic sufficient for all ordinary purposes. . . . They had some little knowledge of geometry and elementary mechanics; and in singing could execute pieces containing no interval greater than a fifth. The outlines of English History . . . had been gone through with care, as far as the reign of Henry I.

". . . Corporal punishment is not used at the Ealing School. Regularity and order, attention and obedience, good manners and good morals, had been maintained without it. In addition to a reasonable and useful amount of general instruction, some practical skill had been acquired from the handicraft and garden-work, and habits of active industry formed, amidst much cheerfulness and content, and feelings of confidence and attachment to their master, and of kindness towards each other.

". . . The intellectual atmosphere of this school

appears also to have begun to expand itself to the village. . . . The masters have opened a room near the school for the systematic instruction of adults during two evenings in the week. . . . In the course of a month fifty labouring men and artisans joined the meetings, subscribing 2s. a quarter."¹

The inspectors' reports showed both the need, and a way of advance, and Dr. Kay, led by instinct and taught by experience, was prepared to press the view that what was lacking in England was a vigorous policy by the Government. He had seen on the Continent a dozen examples of rapid progress carried out by the central authority; he knew, as his Dutch correspondent de Raadt reminded him in 1840, that while Holland had been as educationally backward as England in 1800, the laws of 1803 and 1806 had so strengthened the efforts of reformers there, that the contrast now between the two countries was: "in England many shockingly bad schools remain from that former period, in Holland not one." It was therefore with feelings of anxiety that Dr. Kay regarded the change of Ministry in August, 1841. Lord Lansdowne and Lord John Russell had given him all possible support, and were of one mind with him on the necessity for asserting the civil power against Church exclusiveness; but a Conservative Government under Sir Robert Peel could not be expected to feel the same solicitude. In September Lord Lansdowne, apparently in answer to some expressed doubts, wrote to reassure Dr. Kay: "I know that it is Peel's desire to conciliate on this and some other points . . . and I have little doubt that he will now take the system under his special protection."

The new Lord President of the Council was Lord Wharncliffe, a man of fairly liberal views on education, a man of compromise, and a hard worker in office. His devotion to details seems to have sprung from a high ideal of duty, but it also derived some strength from his sense of the importance of office. An early letter of his to Dr. Kay reveals both these qualities:

¹ *Minutes*, 1842-3, pp. 559-561.

"I have received, this morning, your letter of yesterday's date with the enclosed rough draft of the Minute respecting the Chester Diocesan School, and I return it to you with my alterations and remarks. The same post brought me the letter from Mr. Powys, which I also send. I think you will agree with me that its tone is no longer so 'pugnacious' as that of his former communications, and I flatter myself that I have achieved a considerable object by conciliating and softening that gentleman, so much so, indeed, that I have no doubt of carrying the point referred to in the fourth condition, which I propose to strike out of the Minute, far better by private communications, and as easily as I have done that which respects the rule which Mr. Powys alludes to. His whole letter is one of confidence in me."

It was of Lord Wharncliffe that the diarist Greville said: "He really does the business himself." It is at any rate evident that Lord Wharncliffe thought so.

The new Home Secretary was Sir James Graham, in whom Whig principles and Church doctrines had found an unhappy meeting-place until the latter prevailed, a man of high aspirations but unfortunate manner, called to office at a time when the temper of the country required careful management. "Let me entreat you," wrote Lord Brougham to him, "to direct your attention to education. . . . You could do infinite service to the country, and cover with real honour yourself and the Government." But Graham's reply shows that he regarded the religious difficulty as well-nigh insurmountable.¹

One of the earliest reforms which Dr. Kay pressed on the new Government in 1841 was that the various schools connected with official departments, such as the elementary schools of the royal hospitals and asylums, of the dockyards and ships, of the prisons and the district schools for pauper children, should be placed under the care of the Committee on Education and under Government inspection. This followed the terrible revelations of Mr. Tremenheere's report on Greenwich Hospital Schools, where almost every possible fault

¹ *Life and Letters of Sir James Graham*, by C. S. Parker, I. 337.

was found. Dr. Kay prepared a memorandum, pointing out that the efficiency of a school depended on factors which required peculiar knowledge for their control, and recommending periodic inspection by the staff of the Education Office, the appointment of an inspector specially qualified in mathematics and science, and their application to gunnery, navigation, shipbuilding, and naval construction,¹ and also the establishment of a normal school to train masters for Government schools. Although these reforms were not carried out, the Parkhurst prison for juvenile delinquents was put under a new committee on which Dr. Kay was appointed, and drastic reforms were carried out at Greenwich under his advice.

Meanwhile, the Report of the Commission on the Employment of Children in Mines and Collieries filled Lord Ashley and other philanthropists with "shame, terror, and indignation," and the general distress of the working classes fed the ranks of the Chartists and caused many wild outbreaks. Thomas Cooper's pages are eloquent of the sufferings of the time: his adult school at Leicester had to be closed, partly because the men "were too despairing to care about learning to read."² The state of the country was grave. In August, 1842, when Cooper was arrested in connection with the riots in the Potteries, Sir James Graham was writing to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth with official firmness:

"I am glad that you are residing on your property,³ and I am willing to hope that your influence, good advice, and good example may contribute in your neighbourhood to win back the poor deluded workmen from the error of their ways. . . . I am sure that you will point out to your neighbours the madness of concessions made to threats and open violence."

¹ It was for this post that he recommended the appointment of the Rev. H. Moseley, Professor at King's College, who, however, became a general inspector in 1844.

² When Cooper urged them to continue at school, they asked: "What the hell do we care about reading if we can get nought to eat?" (*Life*, p. 172).

³ *I.e.* at Gawthorpe Hall, near Burnley, in the midst of a large industrial area.

But Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, while willing to show a firm example, was too deeply touched by the sufferings of the people of Lancashire, whose homes almost touched the gates of his wife's ancestral home, not to feel that something more positive was required to heal their wounds. He suggested to Sir James Graham the need of a Government measure of education as one way of grappling with the social danger, and Sir James replied :

"I am most anxious that the education of the rising youth should be the peculiar care of the Government: its neglect is one of the principal causes of the evil spirit which now actuates large masses of the community: but a change of present policy in this respect comes too late as a remedy for the existing danger: it may be a preventive for the future: but the immediate danger is urgent, whatever may be the cause; and a scheme of national education is too slow in its effect to meet the evil, which is at our door. I do not say that for this reason it is to be neglected or postponed: but exclusive reliance must not be placed on it as a safeguard against the dangers which surround us."

The argument was valid enough, but the events of the following year were to show that Sir James Graham's characteristic weakness was a failure to realise facts, a tendency to ignore opposing views, and his attitude to the problem of 1842 was partly responsible for the outburst of anger against him in 1843.

That famous and ill-starred measure, the Factory Bill of 1843, was in preparation as early as the end of 1841, and so many were the alterations it underwent, and so numerous were those who had a share in the preliminary negotiations, that it is impossible now to discover the authors of certain parts of its proposals. Dr. Kay took a part in formulating its education clauses, but Bishop Blomfield and his nominees, especially Mr. R. J. Saunders, a factory inspector in the North of England,¹ were also freely consulted, and they fought hard to give it a

¹ Mr. Saunders is referred to more than once in annual reports of the National Society, in connection with the establishment by that Society of a model factory school at Bradford (see *Report* for 1842).

Church colour. As early as January, 1842, Dr. Kay wrote to inform the Bishop that he and others

"have spent three hours together, and have agreed on the mode of modifying the clauses to meet your lordship's views. The amended clauses will be printed to-night, and when revised by Lord Wharncliffe and Sir James Graham, I have instructions to wait upon your lordship again."

The negotiations took a considerable time, for the Government were much occupied with the state of the country. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth hoped for much from the Bill, and so did Sir James Graham, who wrote to him: "I cannot venture to be sanguine: but the object is so great as to merit our honest effort: and I had rather be defeated in the attempt than fail to make it." The omens were favourable, for if a Conservative Government could secure the consent of the Church to the support of the proposed new factory schools, State aided and rate aided, the obstacle of 1839 would be removed, and a national system in sight. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was sanguine, and described to Lord Morpeth his high expectations, and the latter replied with the same fervour:

"It is one of the fortunate, though somewhat perverse incidents in the position of the two parties, that those who perhaps might be inclined to do least are able to do most, so that, if they show symptoms of exerting more of the ability than the inclination, it is not to be regretted, in this matter at least, that they should have the upper hand for the present."

But there were rocks ahead. The Church party were bent on securing what advantages they could from the proposed legislation, and they were consulted freely in the autumn of 1842. The fatal claim was made that in the new schools the headmaster should be a Churchman, and although Sir James Graham has been much censured for that proposal, the following letter to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, in December, seems to prove that Mr. R. J. Saunders was the author of it. He was

returning the clauses as then drafted, and wrote: "There is one most important omission in these regulations, which is that the master must be a member of the Church of England." His argument was the not very satisfactory one that no man of any other communion would be acceptable: Dissenters would object to a Roman Catholic or Unitarian, and Churchmen would not entrust education to Dissenters, whereas the comprehensive principles of the British and Foreign School Society did not exclude Church of England teachers from their schools. It was a perverse argument, and the storm that was about to break showed how completely ignorant he was of the views of Non-conformists.

Yet Sir James Graham seemed to be equally ignorant of the facts. On December 10 he wrote in all innocence to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth:

"I rejoice that the heads of the Church are disposed to set the example of conciliatory moderation when the Dissenters most unwisely seem inclined to yield to less generous impulses at the expense of the interests of the community, and to the certain arrest of the progress of knowledge. . . . It will be wise in you to keep open the door of friendly communication with the Bishop of London: it is probable that through Mr. Saunders he may know the lines on which we are preparing to move; but I would not come to particulars just now. . . . In framing the clauses meet the views of the Bishop as far as you can, without the least sacrifice of tolerant principles; but, above all, let no prudent means be omitted to prevent a rupture with the British and Foreign Society, whose perverseness at this juncture may defeat the best chance for the diffusion of education which has presented itself in our time."

Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's position was not an easy one. The intention and aim of the Government were irreproachable, and promised to secure by one stroke the amelioration of the condition of the factory child, an end he had long hoped to achieve, and for which he was prepared to sacrifice much. Either he was over-persuaded by Church enthusiasts, or, more probably he

believed that he had secured in the Bill sufficient safeguards to allay Nonconformist fears. He had fought successfully for a conscience clause: no scholar was to be required to attend the Established Church on Sundays if his parents objected; licensed ministers were to be allowed to attend the schools one day in each week to give religious instruction to those children whose parents applied for it; there were to be two separate classrooms for religious instruction; and Roman Catholic scholars were to be exempted from religious teaching. These four principles, at least, were his own, and in the committee room, in the face of opposite claims, they may well have seemed substantial gains in the direction of toleration.

So convinced was he that the Bill was on right lines that he hoped it would pass by common agreement, and he wrote to Lord Lansdowne to assure him that no change of principle was operative in the Government's attitude to education, and to bespeak his friendly examination of the measure.

"I have no hesitation," he wrote, "in assuring you that the administration of the Council office has suffered no injury, but on the contrary has made constant though gradual progress in the same direction as before the accession of the present Ministry. In the holidays I pressed upon the Government in terms of the *strongest* remonstrance the condition of the manufacturing districts in the North of England. My letters have received respectful attention. I have been assured that the Government feel the importance of providing for the education of those great masses with a full recognition of the existing state of the law respecting Dissenters. In the hope of rescuing the question from party contention, and in assurance that the proposals will be moderate and tolerant,"

he asked Lord Lansdowne's aid for the Bill when it came forward. The latter replied at once that "to any measure for the extension of education" he would give not merely his "acquiescence, but cordial assistance if required"; but he also added the warning that parties

were not under sufficient control to enable anybody to forecast what might arise.

Lord Wharncliffe objected to this correspondence on the ground that Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's "former liaison with the Whigs was a notorious source of jealousy," and Sir James Graham wrote asking for his agreement to a statement that such communications had never been sanctioned: official precautions that sound strange in the mouths of men who were at the time negotiating with the Church party. But Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was unrepentant:

"I am prepared," he replied to Sir James Graham, "to encounter any risk consistent with honour to secure for the Government a dispassionate consideration of any comprehensive measure for the improvement and extension of elementary education."

At the end of the year Sir James Graham submitted the revised Bill to the Bishop of London with an accompanying letter summarising the year's negotiations:

"I consulted you last year, and yielding to your objections I abstained from bringing before Parliament certain clauses which it had been proposed to introduce into the Factory Bill. You alluded in terms of commendation to the opinions of Mr. Saunders on this subject. I have carefully examined his reports: I have had confidential communications with him, I have directed him to confer with Mr. Shuttleworth, the Clerk of the Council, and with Mr. Horner, the Inspector General of Factories, and to endeavour to frame clauses, not open to the objections urged against the former proposals, but such as the Church might reasonably concede, and the Dissenters adopt, as a scheme of scriptural education which is compulsory."

A letter from Mr. Saunders to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, on December 30, shows that even at that late date the Church had not secured what she wanted, and is an interesting proof of the valiant struggle that the Secretary had made for toleration:

"I am quite satisfied that it is impossible for the

most zealous to exceed your zeal in behalf of general education, and save in one particular department of education I would be well content to follow your steps in this cause at a very humble distance—and should rejoice if I felt that I could render the good work one hundredth part the service you have rendered it. The more, however, that I admire the talent and the zeal that can compass so much as you have done, the more do I lament the views and opinions you entertain on the religious part of the subject. . . . The absence of all declaration with respect to the religious opinions of the schoolmaster will, I expect, prove our stumbling block.”

No further evidence is available of the last weeks of negotiations, except that Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth had interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Chester, and when the Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, early in 1843, Sir James Graham believed that he had provided against all mishaps.

The educational importance of the proposals was that child labour under the age of eight was to be abolished; children between eight and thirteen were to be limited to six hours and a half of work each day and to be compelled to attend school for three hours; “young persons” over thirteen were to be restricted to twelve hours’ work. To provide for the compulsory schooling Government loans were to be offered to build new schools which were to be supported out of the poor rates. The management committees were to consist of seven persons: the clergyman and two churchwardens were to be members *ex-officio*, two were to be appointed by the magistrates, and two were to be millowners. The schoolmaster was to be a member of the Church of England, and approved by the Bishop. Compulsory attendance at church and week-day instruction in Church doctrines were balanced by the already mentioned safeguards to protect the rights of conscience, but the Church “flavour” of the Bill was unmistakable. If the Progressives’ demand for a school rate had been conceded it was at a prohibitive cost.

The proposals to interfere with the hours of labour were condemned by the individualists, but the strength of the opposition centred round the frenzied attacks made by the Dissenters on the education clauses, and especially on the enforced Churchmanship of the teachers. Meetings of protest were organised throughout the country, and the Nonconformist newspapers fed the passions of their readers by their attacks on proposals which "out-Sidmouthed Sidmouth."

"This insidious Bill," declared one, "seeks to recover the ground which the Established Church has lost in the manufacturing districts. . . . Instead of being instructed in the Holy Scriptures the rising generation will be drilled in Puseyite obeisances, and made to stammer through the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, and in another generation, the religion of the manufacturing districts, now a substance, a matter of conviction, feeling, and practical force, will be reduced to a thing of forms and ceremonies, and delusive superstitions."

Lord John Russell led the Whig protests by proposing a series of resolutions

"demanding the adequate representation of the rate-payers, the teaching of the Scriptures, the separate teaching of other religious books, the liberty to attend any church or Sunday school, the support of training schools, grants for teaching and in aid of voluntary efforts, and opposing the disqualification of masters on religious grounds."¹

A promise of concessions enabled the Government to pass the Bill through its second reading, but public passions had been aroused which no intellectual argument could reach. Sir James Graham offered his "olive branch": a promise to separate denominational teaching and make only Bible reading compulsory, and a re-drafting of the management clause to enable four of the seven to be elected by the ratepayers, but so arranged, as Lord John Russell pointed out, as to secure a majority always on the side of the Church.

¹ Quoted by Adams, *The Elementary School Contest*, p. 120.

The concessions were of no avail in quelling the opposition. "The *Leeds Mercury* goes on as usual," wrote Lord Wharncliffe in pessimistic vein, "and somebody has sent me the *Manchester Times* in the same strain." A gust of passion had swept the country and even Ministers had to find shelter. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth had made one last effort to secure peace, and on April 30, the day before Sir James Graham announced his concessions in the House, he had sent a long letter to Lord John Russell justifying and explaining the part he had taken in the events which now threatened to end so disastrously. It is worth quoting almost in full, as it is one of his most deliberate expressions of opinion on the vexed question of the religious government of the school:

"At this stage of the proceedings in relation to this Bill my personal feelings towards your lordship and the great party of which you are the leader prompt me to explain to you the part which I have taken in the preparation of this measure. I can do this without any breach of the confidence reposed in me, because when you receive this letter the intentions of the Government will have transpired, and you will readily perceive in what direction my humble advice has tended, and how much I have been able to effect.

"When your lordship and Lord Lansdowne in 1839 appointed me Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education I understood the design of your Government to be to prevent the successful assertion on the part of the Church of the claim then put forth for a purely ecclesiastical system of education. The Church had organised societies in the various dioceses, had announced the design of founding a Central Normal School, and Diocesan Normal and Model School in every cathedral town, and had taken the first steps towards the accomplishment of this design. If much progress could have been made in this direction by great sacrifices from the clergy and laity before the advent of a Conservative Government, the object might have been attained. Neither the clergy nor the laity were equal to the design. They did not care sufficiently for the people, or they did not see how such a system

of education would exalt the pretensions and increase the power of the Church. They have not made the necessary sacrifices and they have failed.

"I, however, understood your lordship's Government to determine in 1839 to assert the claims of the civil power to the control of the education of the country, both in order to prevent the growth of inordinate ecclesiastical pretensions, to secure that the education of the country should be in harmony with all its other institutions—to vindicate the rights of conscience—and to lay the foundation of a system of combined education in which the young might be brought up in charity with each other, rather than in hostile camps for future strife.

"The establishment of the Committee of Council on Education effectually asserted the claims of the civil power, and though at the period of the struggle it rather assisted the extreme party in the Church and their design to influence the religious zeal, and thus revive the extreme pretensions of the ecclesiastical party, that frenzy has gradually subsided, and the great majority of the clergy and laity are disposed to regard an alliance between the Church and the State, with the most complete security for the rights of conscience, as the only basis on which the position which the Church holds in this country can be recognised in any system of education. They are thus prepared to confide the chief control of education to the civil power—to submit their schools to the management of a trust of mixed character, chiefly elected by popular suffrage—to afford complete protection to all classes of Dissenters and Romanists—and even to admit into the schools an inspector appointed by the civil power alone, excepting only the peculiar religious instruction of the Church from the inquiries of inspectors not having ecclesiastical authority. I have considered this a great change. I trust I need not assure your lordship that I would not have retained my office under the present Government unless I had clearly perceived that my personal exertions to promote this change were likely to be successful. Had I found contrary tendencies in the Government I should have resigned long ago.

"Immediately on the formation of their administration I openly advised that the constitution of the Committee of Council should continue to be *civil*, without

any admixture of ecclesiastical element. I urged the importance, even with respect to the distribution of the parliamentary grant, of having a *civil arbiter*, and that this was an indispensable requisite in a system of National Education, in a country in which the strength of Nonconformity, derived from the gradual growth of civil and religious freedom, was so great.

"Since that period, I have availed myself of every opportunity to prevent the growth of any system which would interfere with a comprehensive scheme of combined education, and when I was requested about six months ago to prepare a plan of Factory Education, I suggested what I conceived to have been at all times your lordship's design, viz. a plan for the creation and support of *combined schools*. The system of separate education would in my opinion work most mischievously for religious freedom, if not eventually for civil liberty. It would promote the growth unchecked of one class of schools (which would be the most numerous), whose whole plan and whose entire management would be purely ecclesiastical. These schools would continue to be (as they are now) *conveyed to the clergyman as trustee and managed by him alone* to the exclusion of all laymen—even of the subscribers by whose donations the building was created and by whose annual contributions the school is supported. There would be no control—whether ecclesiastical or civil—on the acts of this man, the clergyman of the parish. His opinions, however extreme, would rule the school—he would select the books, both secular and religious, determine the religious instruction and observances, and render the village school a *purely monastic institution*. The Church now absorbs nine-tenths of the parliamentary grant on a system tending to this result, and any scheme of separate education must in the very nature of things leave unchecked the growth of this class of schools—because it would necessarily be no part of a scheme for *separate* education to prescribe rules to the Church or to the sects as to the nature of the religious instruction and the character of the management of their schools. On the contrary, the State would then necessarily abandon its claims to regulate the religious constitution of the schools and be compelled to content itself with inspecting the secular instruction.

"The plan of Mr. Roebuck and the extreme Radical

party (which proposes to establish a purely secular school, and to confide the religious instruction of the scholars to the minister of each religious denomination out of the school) is preferable to a scheme of separate instruction. The country has, however, clearly declared itself averse to a plan of secular instruction. Secular schools will be denounced as infidel schools by both the clergy and the ministers of every sect, and would be destroyed by a universal anathema.

"I therefore think your lordship was right in attempting in the first place to establish common schools.

"I had communicated to your lordship, before you made me Secretary to the Committee of Council, my personal views, which were in accordance with those which I now entertain. I have, I trust, from that time to this, continued to be the fearless and uncompromising advocate and supporter of a comprehensive system of combined education,¹ established with due respect to the rights of conscience and in harmony with our great institutions.

"I believe that Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham clearly perceive the greatness of the principles for which they are contending . . . and that they would regard the defeat of their intentions . . . as *fatal* to a system of National Education in this country. I confess that is also my opinion—in that case I should wish for the present to abandon a hopeless struggle, or at all events not to confine my exertions to this single object on which so much labour would then appear to have been apparently fruitlessly wasted."

On the following day, in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell gave a cautious welcome to Sir James Graham's concessions, and in the country the *Manchester Guardian* advised that the Bill as amended

¹ The "comprehensive" system and the "combined" system are usually described as different modes of organisation. The first is, broadly speaking, the present-day voluntary school, connected with a denomination, but not excluding children of other faiths. The second is the present-day council school, where religious instruction is given, but no particular tenets of a Church are taught. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's phrase seems to indicate that he held an intermediate position—he desired to secure State inspection, popular control, popular management, while retaining the intimate connection of every school with a particular Church or congregation.

should be accepted, "trusting to future improvement of its details, rather than see all prospect of national education abandoned as impracticable." Lord John Russell's reply on May 2, to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's appeal, shows that his doubts had not been removed :

"I did not answer your letter until I had heard Sir James Graham's declaration. The one point upon which he has not yielded seems to me to involve that very principle for which you say the Government and yourself are prepared to contend. If the education of the country is to be civil and not ecclesiastical, there can be no ground for insisting that the schoolmaster should be a Churchman, and that the majority of the managing Board should be appointed in a way to secure a majority of Churchmen. By the Acts of 1828-29 we secured that all civil offices, except that of Lord Chancellor, should be open to Protestant and Catholic Dissenters—yet here is a new civil office, with a salary paid by the public, restricted to Churchmen by a method as sure as the Sacramental test. Without any imputations on the motives of Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham I lament that they have left their Bill open to this serious objection. And with the encroaching spirit of the Oxford Catholics, as they call themselves, I cannot expect that a Bill to place education in the hands of the Church will be acquiesced in. Your personal conduct is of course beyond all suspicion. You have been at all times anxious for a comprehensive scheme—I wish we had one."

The continued clamour against the Bill compelled the Government to withdraw it. They had to be satisfied with passing, in the following year, a non-contentious measure regulating the working hours of children in the way proposed in the ill-fated Bill of 1843. Thus the second attempt to secure the elements of a national system of education had completely failed.

The controversy of 1843, however, led directly to three clearly defined groups of results. The first was the extension of the conditions governing the award of the Parliamentary grants, and of the system of inspection; the second was a rapid increase in the number

of applications for building grants owing to the re-awakened zeal among the contending Churches; and the third was a separation of a group of Dissenters, henceforward called the Voluntaryists, who had taken a large share in the opposition to the Government Bill, and who now went over to the extreme position of denying the right of the State to interfere at all in the question of education. The three movements were concurrent, and may be considered in the above order.

The first was Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's plan for increasing the efficiency of elementary schools without the risk of legislative failure. In his Second Report on Battersea, in 1843, he had described a scheme of Government aid by the method of an annual capitation grant, and, in the autumn of that year, he laid before the Committee of Council the following draft scheme:

"The Committee further considered the mode in which they can most effectually promote the prosperity of schools for the instruction and training of masters and mistresses, and they will, in future, upon receiving any application of a grant in aid of the expenses incurred in the maintenance and management of such schools, cause the school, in respect of which the application is made, to be examined by their Inspector. Having his report before them their Lordships will determine whether the application will be attended to or not; and if, in their judgment, the case shall be such as to justify the application, they will award a sum of £25 for every male, and £20 for every female, not exceeding a certain number, annually, who, after one year's training in the school, shall, upon examination, be certified by their Inspector to be competent to take charge of an elementary school, and who shall enter into a written agreement to exercise the profession of a teacher for the space of seven years, after quitting such Training School."

But the Committee of Council at the time refused to incur any responsibility in providing any grants towards teachers' salaries. The proposal to reorganise and extend the inspectorate met with more success.¹ Since

¹ *Minutes*, 1842-3, pp. 23-36.

1840 England and Wales had been under the charge of two inspectors only, and as there were, in December, 1843, 671 schools in England and 25 in Wales which were open to inspection, either as a right or by invitation, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth proposed that the country should be divided into five districts, Northern, Midland, Eastern, Western (including Wales), and Southern, and that an inspector be appointed for elementary schools in connection with the Church of England in each district, that an additional inspector be appointed to supervise the normal schools, and that Mr. Tremeneere, who had been appointed to the inspectorate under the Poor Law Commission, be replaced by an inspector allocated to British Schools, of which there were then 78 under inspection. He also made suggestions about providing schools with apparatus.

The changes made by the Committee of Council were set down in the Minute of November 22, 1843¹: grants were offered for the building of houses for schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, for the provision of necessary school furniture and apparatus, and for building training schools. An increase in the inspectorate was also announced.

That Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was disappointed by the refusal of annual aid to normal schools is proved by his letter of expostulation to Sir James Graham and Lord Wharncliffe early in December.

"The declaration against any future grants," he wrote, "towards the support of normal schools appears to me a much graver subject for re-consideration. I anticipate that you will be vigorously attacked on this subject. You will be described as unnecessarily declaring a negation—as putting yourselves in the way to prevent the improvement of elementary education throughout the country while you enlarge the means for its extension. It will be described as a jealous policy, not taken with a single eye to the interests of the people."

¹ *Minutes*, 1842-3, i.-iii. These reforms are erroneously ascribed by Mr. Birchenough, in his *History of Elementary Education*, to the year 1847.

But they were immovable, and Lord Wharncliffe replied bluntly : " You are quite wrong about the absolute negative upon the grants for maintenance of the normal schools."

The grants for apparatus and the training of the new inspectors in their work occupied much of his time ; the former were to be made on condition that one-third of the cost was raised locally, and

"only in those cases in which the apparatus will be appreciated, and used with skill, and in which the funds, though gathered by zealous trustees, and applied by an intelligent and industrious master, are inadequate to maintain the efficiency of the school without further aid to enable the trustees to adopt improvements in its management."

The principle of self-help was still the safeguard in the award of State aid.

In order to promote the efficiency of the inspectors he devised a scheme of communicating their reports to the office after the inspection of each school, and thus brought the Committee of Council into closer touch with both schools and inspectors. These arrangements increased his own labours enormously, but he had been anxious to make the inspection of schools more complete and systematic for some time.

The new inspectors were the Rev. H. Moseley, the Rev. F. C. Cook, the Rev. H. W. Bellairs, the Rev. F. Watkins, and Mr. J. Fletcher, able, active, and willing men, but not equipped with any special knowledge of elementary schools and the principles of education. During 1844 Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth conducted a voluminous correspondence with them while they served their apprenticeship. Their letters show their dependence on him :

"Could you not draw up some questions for us," wrote one, "by answering which we should be collecting facts whence to form some opinion as to the best mode of conducting schools? Of course we are all heaping up something in our minds daily, bearing upon this

point, but I fancy that our attention should be especially turned to some one or two points which you may be able to show. At —, where the school is carried on after your plan, desks and seats are on a gallery in front of the master. He told me that he was anxious to alter the arrangement, for as at present constituted he could not teach the children in the back seats to read as well as if they were arranged on the National plan. He could not hear correctly (he said) what they said. In consequence of this he asked me if I would consent to the removal of the two front rows of desks and seats so that he might teach reading on the National plan, and other matters on his original plan, thus blending the two systems. My answer was a request that he would pause before he made any alterations, but as regarded myself I did not feel competent to advise on such a matter."

Such humility in the face of simple problems is a becoming trait in any inspector, but Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, with his passion for work, spurred them on to acquire other virtues.

"I am greatly obliged," wrote another, "by the copy of Dr. Orpen's Tracts on the Pestalozzian system which you have sent to me. I have advanced some distance in reading them, and hope to communicate to you soon the impression I have received from them."

A third hinted in the first few weeks that the pace was somewhat fast :

"I hope I have said more in the rough notes than is necessary, for I have been at work with it for something like four hours, and shall be well satisfied to compress if possible. The advantages from this plan are I think at once apparent, but you must take care not to overwork us."

The full complement of inspectors was not appointed till the summer of 1844, and Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, overworked and unwell, seeking "rest and relaxation" in the Lake District, spent much of his holiday in writing almost daily letters to them, smoothing out their difficulties, answering their endless questions,

studying and commenting upon their weekly diaries. To Lord Wharncliffe he wrote exultingly of the value of this newly-devised weekly report, and the close contact established by its means. A letter to one of the inspectors illustrates what excessive care he took in encouraging their zeal :

"I have sent your rough note journal for the last two weeks to Lord Wharncliffe, but I cannot refrain from writing to say how very lively an impression I derive from your notes of the condition of the schools which you have visited.

"As far as I can perceive, these notes were all that it was possible to effect at a first visit, and they seize some of the most important characteristics of the schools with great felicity.

"The satisfaction which this familiarity with your daily proceedings affords to us who have some share of responsibility on our shoulders is very great, and I trust you will find that the opportunities this will afford the Lord President of communicating familiarly and constantly with you in the discharge of your duties will afford you the constant sense of sympathy and assistance ready to support you in the faithful discharge of your new duties.

"I speak from experience derived from a similar position when I say that nothing was more important to my satisfaction as an Assistant Commissioner than the most important personal relations with headquarters, and by all the means which I could devise. I always felt that I had a large implied moral sanction in the fact that I reported every material detail of my proceedings, and obtained frequent if not constant signs of approval, and never on any occasion encountered an indisposition to yield me the entire moral and official support of the central authority.

"These are the relations which it must be our constant effort to maintain in this the greatest enterprise (rightly understood) of this time."

The second result of the strife of 1843 was the reinvigoration of voluntary efforts by the Churches, and a consequent large increase in the number and amount of grants made by the Committee of Council. The demands could only be met in 1844 by using a

balance of over £20,000 unspent in the financial year 1843-4, and by the use of a sum of £12,000 discovered in the Treasury, the unexpended remains of the education grants voted between 1833 and 1839, before the advent of the Committee of Council.

"The autumn and winter of 1843," wrote Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth at the end of 1844, "had been remarkable for the greatest exertions on record in this country in favour of the education of the labouring classes. The failure of the Education clauses of the Factories Regulation Bill had been followed by contributions amounting to £160,000 from the friends of the National Society; of £70,000 amongst the Congregational Dissenters; and of probably an equivalent sum among the Wesleyan Methodists; besides which, an almost universal sense of the necessity for immediate sacrifices to establish schools in connection with the churches and chapels of the various religious bodies was followed by abundant local contributions towards these objects."

The number of applications for building grants during the twelve months following October, 1843, was more than double the number for the twelve months preceding that date, and Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth estimated that, if the observed rate of increase continued, the Parliamentary grant required for 1845-6 would be £179,000. In spite of obstacles, the influence of his office, as measured by expenditure, was growing at no mean rate.

The third of the impulses directly due to the struggle of 1843 was, as mentioned above, the formation of a new party, consisting chiefly of Congregationalists but also including some Baptists, which repudiated all State aid and State control in education on the ground that it was the interference of a secular body in a spiritual question. Many Dissenters had been uneasy since 1839 about educational developments, but chiefly because the Church, with her greater resources, had been able to claim the greater share of the Parliamentary grant, and therefore to increase the percentage of Church schools. The advent of a Conservative

Ministry in 1841 deepened their suspicion that State aid meant, ultimately, Church aid, and the struggle of 1843 was the expression of their view that their secret fears were justified. Till that time they had no scruples about accepting public money, and many of their leaders were openly pressing for an increase of school grants. The principle of voluntarism was, of course, dear to the Nonconformists : it appealed to their individualistic philosophy, it harmonised with their zeal for religious freedom, and it suited their psychology, for it meant in practice a series of large efforts which were to be achieved by the rapid whipping up of intense enthusiasm, a method which has won some striking successes in the history of Nonconformity. It is not altogether surprising that Sir James Graham's proposal to endow Church schoolmasters startled the most individualistic among them into abandoning their former acquiescence in State aid, and substituting in its place an extreme application of the simple formula of self-help. The cry of free-trade in food was growing in favour at the time : the cry of free-trade in education seemed to many an equally sound doctrine.

The Voluntarists emerged at a meeting of the Congregational Union in Leeds, and in London, in December, 1843, they made a public appeal on so large a scale that even Lord Wharncliffe was startled.

"As they propose," he wrote to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, "to raise £100,000 towards educational purposes, these people must be a very numerous body, and if so, I should suppose that their defection [from the British and Foreign School Society] would be a very important circumstance in considering our relations with it. Who and what are these Congregationalists?"

Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was less perturbed. He saw at once that their position was not so logical as they claimed : that, although they might found separate schools, they would require teachers, and the only teachers available for some time to come would be those who were trained partly at the public cost.

"They do not forbid the Congregational schools entering into connection with the British and Foreign School Society," he replied, "nor admonish them not to receive masters from the normal and model schools in the Borough Road, but the contrary, notwithstanding these schools have been erected, and are to be supported, with aid from the Committee of Council, and, further, are to be periodically inspected."

He underestimated the strength of their enthusiasm, however, and thought that, if an inspector were appointed who had the confidence of the Congregationalists and Baptists, they would be soon won back into co-operation with the Committee of Council. But the party survived until 1867.¹

The strength of the Voluntaryists was derived partly from the character and energy of their leaders. Edward Baines, a Lancastrian by birth, but since the first year of the century the proprietor and editor of the influential *Leeds Mercury*, was an excellent example of the qualities bestowed upon men by the clash of ideals in the closing decade of the eighteenth century. He imbibed a zeal for knowledge and a passion for religious and political freedom which made his paper the voice of Nonconformity. His more polemical son, Edward Baines, Junr., inherited the same views, though a less sturdy native character gave him a greater readiness to seize upon party advantage. The *Leeds Mercury* had carried on a victorious warfare with Sir James Graham's "dangerous Bill"; it now became the aggressive champion of Voluntaryism.

The movement opened with an enthusiasm which was expressed in deeds as well as words, for, by 1851, no fewer than 364 schools and one training college had been opened. In Wales, where Sunday schools were regarded with more affection than day schools, the movement found much favour. The younger Baines

¹ Baines's famous recantation was uttered at a meeting of the Congregational Union on October 11, 1867: "Ought we to cripple and destroy our schools rather than accept those payments? I honour the motives of those who reply in the affirmative; but my own deliberate and revised judgment answers in the negative."

wrote unceasingly, and his pamphlets, with their italics and capitals, their rhetorical questions and emphasis, their forecasts and calculations, their use of every fact that would help the Voluntary cause and their serene indifference to every principle that told against it, are a monument of energy, ability, and enthusiasm misapplied.¹ He led a vigorous fight, but the final result was not worth the effort it cost. He applied Benthamite principles, Whig doctrines, and economic arguments to human affairs in the most *doctrinaire* manner. "All experience declares," he wrote in his unquestioning way, "that freedom and competition are the best safeguards for improvement," a doctrine that had much validity in the vigorous industrial world of the North, but one of proved falsity in the provision of the means of education. For there has always been a class of people who have found satisfaction in arguing from the principles of economics, which apply to marketable commodities, to the principles of education, which is not a marketable commodity in the same sense, and who have remained utterly unable to realise the difference.

Mr. Edward Baines, Junr., and Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth were both of Lancashire stock, Nonconformist in origin, shared a passion for individual rights and freedom and a zeal for education, and were co-workers in the movement for the extended education of the working classes. Moreover, they were old schoolmates and friends, yet from 1843 Mr. Baines was the most vigorous opponent of the activities of the Committee of Council, and increased considerably the difficulties in Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's way. The one was fixed in a closed chain of generalisations to which the facts must conform, the other was so conscious of the complexity of the facts that his generalisations were for ever growing in range and comprehension, and no party advantage or

¹ See the series of twelve *Letters to Lord John Russell*, by Edward Baines, Junr., first printed in the *Morning Post*, and afterwards issued in pamphlet form. The Congregational Board of Education was the official exponent of the Voluntarists' position, and published a large number of tracts on popular education, and a quarterly journal called *The Educator*. Better known are the *Crosby Hall Lectures*.

sectarian interest was allowed to divert him from the quest of principles which should have universal validity.

The years 1840-1844, while they produced no remarkable developments in the struggle for a national system of education, were big with effort and with minor achievements. Schools were springing up in increasing numbers, training colleges were multiplying, inspectors were spreading proposals for increased efficiency, the apparatus of teaching methods was made more easily available, and the Churches, with a few exceptions, were becoming more willing to co-operate with the State. That these things were adequate nobody would assert, and nobody was more conscious of their inadequacy than Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth himself. Yet in view of all the difficulties that surrounded him they may be claimed as his victories.

CHAPTER VI

ANNUAL MAINTENANCE GRANTS (THE PUPIL TEACHER SYSTEM) AND MANAGEMENT CLAUSES

WITH the exception of the grants towards apparatus and furniture, the help afforded to schools by the Committee of Council was limited to a proportion of the cost of building, and did not extend to the annual expense of maintenance, and to the chief item of expenditure, the teacher's salary. Consequently, a serious drag on progress was caused by the poverty into which schools fell—sometimes at once, more frequently from the inability to sustain for long an annual burden which steadily increased. The cheapest teachers were sought, and trained masters were sometimes regarded as expensive luxuries beyond the reach of the poorest schools.

Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth had realised this financial difficulty at an early date: had proposed a school rate in 1838 and 1839, an annual grant to the training colleges, and a system of training college bursaries for intending teachers. In addition, his experiments with and advocacy of a system of pupil teachers were designed with a double purpose: not only would they produce a succession of trained and efficient teachers, but they would solve also the immediate problem of providing a school with an adequate number of assistants at no increased cost to the school promoters.

The way seems to have opened in 1844, for in that year Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was discussing with Lord Wharncliffe and with Sir Robert Peel the available means of extending education; and though there is little

on record of what happened, a document prepared by him in November, giving a summary of their discussions, shows that the Minutes of 1846 were being formulated.

"I understand Sir Robert Peel," he wrote, "to have the following important ends in view :

"1. To foster among the labouring classes a conviction that it is their interest to educate their children as a means of advancement in life.

"2. To teach them to look to the Government to reward and encourage them.

"3. To produce a laudable emulation among masters of elementary schools for reputation and reward, by means of the success of their scholars, and to teach them to regard the Government as a generous patron.

"4. To discover a means of encouraging the improvement of elementary education open to general competition without religious distinctions, and operating not by restraint or general regulation, but by the stimulus of distinctions, and substantial benefits."

These aims were vague enough, however laudable, and he made them more specific by interpreting Lord Wharncliffe's wishes as embodying :

"1. A system of apprenticeship of the most promising scholars who would receive an annual stipend from the Government.

"2. A system of rewarding the masters of the elementary schools.

"3. A system whereby the apprentices would assist the master in conducting his school."

Archdeacon Denison afterwards alleged that the Minutes of 1846 were another proof of Whig villainy :¹ he would have been still more enraged had he known that the proposals had been unofficially sanctioned by the Conservative Government in 1844. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth drew up and submitted to the Committee of Council a scheme designed to make operative the

¹ This was a common view, and is the cause of much wrath in a bitter pamphlet, *The History and Present State of the Education Question*, printed for the Metropolitan Church Union, 1850.

foregoing principles, and it only differs from later documents in being on a more humble scale : pupil teachers were to be selected by examination, annual grants were to be made to the head teacher of £5, and to the pupil teacher of £10, subject to the satisfactory report of the inspector, exhibitions of £15 or £20 were to be awarded for one year's training in a normal school, and pensions of £20 per annum were to be given to those teachers of fifty-five or sixty years of age who had trained pupil teachers successfully, and who had satisfied the inspector both in a written examination and by the successful organisation of their schools.

The time seemed favourable for advance, and in an accompanying letter to Lord Wharncliffe he asserted that "the temper of the country" would make it impossible for any Government "to arrest the progress of popular instruction." It was the period when, as has been shown, the Churches were showing a new zeal in building schools.

It is necessary also to notice that the equally famous management clauses date from the same period, and were, indeed, the logical complement of extended State aid. What Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth feared above all else was complete clerical control of schools ; and therefore, at the time when he was preparing a scheme to give annual grants, he also took steps to establish a system of local management which would secure adequate representation of the laity and ultimate control by the Committee of Council through its inspectors. Early in 1845 he wrote a letter to the Bishop of London which illustrates the necessary connection in his mind of the two schemes :

"The question of endowment [of teachers] is now waiting at the threshold for discussion, and in this question I need not remind your lordship that any attempt to exclude the laity from their position as managers of funds subscribed by themselves, or contributed by the Government, would not only inevitably fail, but would bring ruin and disorder as a consequence of its failure."

The inspectors' reports continued to reveal an unsatisfactory state of affairs throughout the country. The monitorial system was still enthroned,¹ although the influence of the monitors was reported to be "positively detrimental to the moral character" and of no benefit "to the intellectual improvement of our schools." Their method of teaching is thus described :

"The monitors were in the act of placing the finger of each individual boy upon the first word of the lesson to be read. This accomplished, and the monitor having read one word of the lesson, and the boys simultaneously after him, each boy advanced his finger one word, and the process was repeated."²

Nor were many of the teachers much better: the partially trained were reported as suffering from self-conceit, and the untaught from abysmal ignorance, or what was worse, a positively evil character.³ The results were naturally deplorable: seventy-five per cent. of the scholars left school unable to read the Scriptures with "tolerable ease or correctness," fifty per cent. without any instruction in penmanship, eighty per cent. without any knowledge of the compound rules of arithmetic.⁴ Punishment was excessive, although several inspectors testified that the efficiency of a school was in inverse proportion to the amount of corporal punishment inflicted in it, and the master who "really found pleasure in punishing the scholars" still survived.⁵ Irregular attendance and an early leaving-age were common, and were themselves the cause of unsatisfactory schools which perpetuated these evils, thus producing a vicious circle. It was clearly proved by the exceptional schools that, "the better the school is, the older will the children be found to be that are in

¹ That the monitorial system was weakening in the affections of its early promoters is shown by the *Report* of the National Society in 1846, where the limitations of its use are explained, and a semi-apology is made for its continuance.

² *Minutes*, 1844, vol. i. p. 511, footnote.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 233, 290, etc.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 503-4.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 234.

attendance, and the more regularly will they come."¹ The evil was especially marked in the industrial centres, where a migratory population and an economic demand for child labour almost completely undid the work of the schools amongst the poorest class. The "half-timers" created by the Act of 1844 were a new evil:

"They are dirty and labour-soiled, in ragged and scanty clothes, with heavy eyes and worn faces. In the clothing districts, their faces, necks, and hands are deeply stained with the blue of the dye used for the cloth. From the spinning mills they come covered with the 'flock,' or as it is termed the 'fluff' of the yarn—their hair thickly powdered with it—tangled, especially that of the girls, as if no comb could ever penetrate it. . . . I fancied, perhaps wrongly, that there was little notice taken of them in the business of the school. . . . The master professed himself unable to include them in the various classes, without materially injuring the progress of the other children."²

The interruptions to schooling in the rural districts were less injurious because they were more varied and changed with the seasons, taking the scholars afield to the corn and hay harvests, to dibble wheat and set potatoes, to draw turnips and "pull kecks."

The great need was money. The inspectors without exception reported that, after the first enthusiasm was over, the annual school deficiency was pushed more and more upon the clergy, whose zeal was greater than their means. In the poor parishes underpaid vicars were paying from their stipends more than they could afford, and were doing it under the depressing knowledge that the struggle was an impossible one and must soon be abandoned.³

There were refreshing exceptions to the general

¹ *Minutes*, 1844, vol. i. p. 88.

² *Ibid.* p. 280.

³ There are hints of tragedy in the reports, and one case is recorded of a schoolmaster whose spirit was hurt by the poverty of the school and his dependence on unwilling subscribers. "With weak health, this state of things hastened, if it did not produce, his death" (*ibid.* p. 450).

rule of poverty and indifference, and the case of the school at King's Somborne, where the vicar, the Rev. R. Dawes, without any external aid, created a flourishing and efficient school in a poor parish, became an object lesson throughout the land.¹ Its fees were graduated according to the parents' means, the farmers being charged considerably more than the labourers for the same education, and so efficient was the teaching, so liberal the curriculum, and so attractive the school, that it was soon filled with scholars and its income grew in the most satisfactory manner. A prominent feature of the curriculum was the science of common objects, and much of the power of the school on the community around was exercised through a lending library which the children were encouraged to use freely. The effects were nothing less than miraculous, and the enthusiasm awakened in the school among the parents produced a wholesale revolution in their attitude to life: neighbours gathered together in cottages at night to hear a book read; fathers were wooed from the public house by the new attraction at the fireside; one old man took a pride in learning from his encyclopædic grandson, "all the towns round about the coast of all England"; and even a young girl was so engrossed at home in the *Outline of Sacred History* that the clock fingers slipped round unobserved. The record of things achieved by the King's Somborne school is worthy of a place in the most romantic chapters of educational effort.

The inspectors' reports of 1846 are little different from those of 1845, except that they accentuate the financial difficulties. "In many cases where the clergy have hitherto made great sacrifices to keep the schools open, they have informed me that, without some assistance, it will not be possible for them to struggle much longer against the difficulties of their position."² Poverty caused the employment of inefficient teachers

¹ The school figures prominently in several Reports. See *Minutes*, 1844, vol. i. pp. 101-7, 1845, vol. i. pp. 103-6, etc. The account given in the 1847-8 volume was afterwards published in pamphlet form by permission of the Committee of Council, and widely circulated.

² *Minutes*, 1845, vol. i. p. 169. Also vol. ii. p. 78, 182, etc.

to continue, prevented the purchase of necessary school books, and perpetuated the employment of monitors. The most critical reports are those of the Rev. H. Moseley, and his deliberate judgment was that the new social complications and evils were not being overcome by the schools :

“Whilst one child only is educated out of every four or five who ought to be educated, it is not to be wondered at that education should not be found equal to the antagonism of those moral and physical influences under which the labouring classes are sinking, and that its effects should not be apparent on the statistics of crime. But if all the children were at school who are of an age to go to school, it does not follow that any of them would be educated.”¹

These words were written in the same year that Baines was “proving” the adequacy and excellence of voluntary efforts. Moseley pointed out that, while the master had sometimes been trained to teach, the circumstances of the school impelled him to organise it on some form of the monitorial system, under which teaching was impossible, and he drew a picture of such a master vainly attempting to exercise

“some of those functions of an instructor for which he had been carefully prepared. Standing surrounded by his school, perhaps of 150 children, divided into ten classes with as many teachers, and as many different subjects of instruction all going on at once, and each at such a pitch of the voice as to be audible above the surrounding tumult.”²

Additional funds, he thought, could not be raised by local contributions, “unless that stimulus be super-added which Government aid can alone supply,” and no measure would better meet the wishes of the promoters of schools than “the support of apprentices or pupil teachers.”³

¹ *Minutes*, 1845, vol. i. pp. 270, 271.

² *Ibid.* pp. 246, 247.

³ *Ibid.* p. 261.

That the evil conditions were fairly widespread is proved by the fact that four inspectors make the assertion that a part of their area is the worst spot in the country; and these areas were as distant as the Potteries, South Wales, Lancashire, and the North-umberland and Durham coalfield. In every industrial area of the country the schools were declared not to be holding their own in the effort to civilise. In spite of the recovery of trade and general prosperity in 1845 the industrial population were everywhere declared to be in worse case than in the trying times of 1841-2, for "as property and wages have increased, drunkenness and immorality have increased also."¹

This growing insistence on the necessity of annual grants also found expression in a number of memorials² from Diocesan Boards of Education, from town clergymen, and from laymen, at the beginning of 1846; and the diffidence of the Government, in proceeding with the scheme that had been prepared in 1844, is to be explained by the political crises that absorbed the attention of Sir Robert Peel's Ministry. At the commencement of 1845 the horizon was clear and the Government were enjoying their hard-won success; the revival of trade and the subsiding of the angry passions of discontented workers seemed to promise an era of calm and progressive legislation. But Peel's proposal to increase the annual grant to Maynooth College for training Roman Catholic priests in Ireland, and to make it a permanent endowment, aroused once more the storm of religious bitterness, and the Bill was only carried in the face of violent opposition. The autumn of the same year brought still more serious embarrassment by the failure of the potato crop in Ireland; and Peel's conversion to free trade precipitated a ministerial crisis. Peel's temporary resignation in December and Lord John Russell's acceptance of office were hailed by Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth with a jubilation which shows the relief of a man nearly worn out by waiting:

¹ *Minutes*, 1845, vol. ii. p. 199.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. i-xxiv.

"I am now able to restore into your hands the Education Department not only I trust uninjured, but, though not advanced by legislation, developed from being a mere limb of the Privy Council Office into a public department requiring reorganisation. I have remained in this office in the hope that, on your lordship's resumption of power, there might be no insurmountable difficulty to the completion of the structure of a truly national education, and that you would be disposed to finish the work which you began.

"If your lordship retain this hope and design I should find great satisfaction in the progress of this department, and should esteem it an honour worthy of any sacrifice to connect my own humble effort with this great work."

A letter in not dissimilar terms he also sent to Lord Lansdowne. But Lord John Russell was unable to form a Ministry and Sir Robert Peel returned to power.

On December 19, 1845, Lord Wharncliffe died suddenly,¹ and Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, in writing to Sir Robert Peel a few days later, urged the importance of proceeding with the scheme which had been devised to meet the burden of the schools :

"The proposals as to new measures have been substantially approved by the Bishop of London, and have become the subject of an earnest wish among the most influential members of the National Society. I anticipate no opposition in any other direction."

But the political situation remained uncertain, and the minds of Ministers were too much occupied to give any attention to education, so that Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth had to curb his impatience. How great this was may be seen from a confidential letter, written in March, 1846, to his friend Lord Francis Egerton, asking him to raise the question of education in the House of Commons :

"It might be more politic for you to bring the whole

¹ Lord Wharncliffe seems to have been convinced, in 1844, of the pressing need of money in the schools. He urged the Cabinet to go boldly to the House of Commons for an increased vote of £100,000 for 1845, and anticipated no difficulty "except perhaps from Wesleyan Methodists and Roman Catholics."

question in a general shape under the consideration of the House by moving on special and on general grounds an address to the Queen. Among the general grounds might be stated :

" 1. The increase of the population at the rate of 400,000 per annum, while school accommodation increases only at the rate of 100,000 per annum.

" 2. The want of adequate means for supporting the schools which exist.

" 3. The want of proper schoolmasters and of sufficient establishments for training them.

" 4. The want of a provision for training assistants.

" 5. The absence of means to render the profession honourable.

" 6. The absence of retiring pensions for meritorious service.

" Among the special grounds are :

" 1. The army of navigators [*i.e.* navvies] living like bands of lawless marauders without religion or morality on the new railways.

" 2. The condition of new mining and manufacturing communities.

" 3. The early age of children's labour both in agricultural and manufacturing districts, and the constant interruption of work during the school age.

" 4. The want of an adequate parental, social, or religious guidance of the period of youth in both sexes.

" 5. The difficulties with which all progress on this subject is obstructed on account of religious divisions.

" On these grounds Her Majesty ought to interfere and move her Executive again to grapple with these difficulties and endeavour to overcome them.

" If you could be induced to move an address to the Crown and to make a general statement to the House and to the country on these topics, I should be glad to offer you my humble assistance in procuring all the illustration which is available."

During these months of waiting Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth returned to the first object of his educational solicitude, the pauper child, and prepared a Memorandum¹ on the administration of a grant of £30,000 for the salaries of teachers in workhouse schools. This paper

¹ *Minutes*, 1846, vol. i. pp. 47-56. Though it is dated August, it was first submitted in February.

was a characteristic appeal for the workhouse schoolmaster, his authority, comfort, leisure, dignity, salary, and holidays, and an attempt to raise that unfortunate victim from a world of Bumbledom to a world of human beings. He trenchantly criticised the laborious and confined servitude in which the schoolmaster worked, and emphasised the criticism by quoting a letter of Stow's, whose pupils would no longer accept union appointments under the control of Boards "partly composed of illiterate and ignorant farmers, whose delight it is to find fault." Remarking on the "obscure and monotonous toil" which offered few attractions, and from which efficient teachers would desire to escape as soon as possible, he recommended the establishment of a normal school¹ to prepare masters for their peculiarly difficult work, attendance at which should be made free to suitable candidates in return for a signed agreement that they would serve in such schools for a definite period of years. His scheme also included the appointment of four or five inspectors under the Poor Law Commission, who should act, in all school matters, under the guidance of the Committee of Council on Education.²

Sir Robert Peel's Ministry lingered on until the summer of 1846, but at long last Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, in July, had the satisfaction of seeing Lord John Russell securely fixed in office. Lord Lansdowne returned also to the Presidency of the Privy Council. They had been made acquainted, during their short hour of office in the previous December, with the proposals that Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth had formulated, and on August 25 a general Minute³ was passed announcing the intention

¹ This was realised later by the establishment of Kneller Hall.

² In the first draft of the scheme he had suggested that the inspection of the workhouse schools should be in the hands of the inspectors of Church of England schools, in conjunction with their other duties, and this on two grounds : to set up an intimate relationship between inspector and workhouse chaplain, and to economise a portion of the inspectors' time spent in travelling by restricting the size of their areas, owing to the inclusion of workhouse schools in their list of duties. But in the Memorandum a separate staff of inspectors was inserted, and this procedure was afterwards adopted.

³ *Minutes*, 1846, vol. i. pp. 1, 2.

of the Government to award grants for employing apprenticed pupils to learn the art of teaching in approved elementary schools, for augmenting the salaries of teachers who gave instruction to such pupils, for giving retiring pensions to teachers "in certain cases," and for giving small gratuities annually to schoolmasters in order to encourage "zeal and success." This general declaration was followed in December of the same year by a long Minute¹ defining the details of the new scheme, which was more elaborate than the first draft. Schools which received a favourable report from the inspector were to be recognised for the training and employment of pupil teachers, who were to receive from the Government, subject to passing an annual examination at the end of each of the five years' apprenticeship, a stipend of £10 in the first year, rising by annual increments to £20 in the fifth. The master or mistress was to be required to give separate instruction to these pupils during at least one hour and a half on each school day, and for this service was to receive annually £5 for one, £9 for two, and an additional £3 for each further pupil. In rural schools "stipendiary monitors" could be employed, and, for these, smaller proportionate grants were offered.

Furthermore, the best of the pupil teachers, on the conclusion of their apprenticeship, were offered exhibitions of £20 or £25, tenable at a normal school, and were to be called "Queen's Scholars"; the remainder, if their reports were satisfactory, were to be allowed to remain in school as untrained teachers. The normal schools were to be given a sum of £20 for the first, £25 for the second, and £30 for the third year's training of every Queen's scholar who satisfied both the principal and the inspector.

Thus, without the risk of legislation, an internal reform was effected which went to the roots of the school's weakness. The monitorial system was replaced by the provision of older assistants, the instruction of the assistants was regulated and examined, and the

¹ *Minutes*, 1846, vol. i. pp. 2-15.

teachers were offered sufficient financial inducement to do this work thoroughly. Every school in the land was anxious to share in these new benefits, and be certified by the inspector as efficient.

The Minute went much further, and offered to the pupil teachers considerable prospective benefits also. To each student who had pursued a successful course of training of one year's duration, and was appointed in an inspected school, the Committee of Council promised an annual stipend of £15 or £20, on condition that the managers of the school provided at least twice this sum and the inspector declared the school to be satisfactory. This annual grant to qualified teachers was to be £20 or £25 for two years' training, and £25 or £30 for three years' training. Schoolmistresses were to receive two-thirds of these amounts. Retiring pensions were also offered to old and infirm teachers after they had completed at least fifteen years' satisfactory service, conditions less exclusive than the first proposals.

The same Minute sanctioned the building of a normal school for the training of masters for workhouse schools and also the appointment of four inspectors for such schools.

It has been shown that these proposals had been long worked for by Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, and were his devices to make teaching both a skilled and a desirable profession. To a precarious and frequently make-shift occupation he brought the stability and prestige of Government support; to an easily entered and indifferently practised calling he brought rigid selection by examination and inspection. The pupil teacher system has been severely criticised during the twentieth century, but in 1846 there was no other method available for recruiting and making efficient teachers, and the improvements that followed its introduction were immediate and great.

The Minute of December was published at a time when the country had been agitated on the education question by a war of pamphlets. Dr. Hook, then vicar of Leeds and an eminent High Churchman, a man of

courage, principle, and toleration, "the old mastiff," as he called himself, of the Church of England, published a pamphlet, in the summer of 1846, *On the Means of rendering more Efficient the Education of the People*,¹ and his confession, which is also the refrain of the work, was that "compared with the educational wants of the country we have done next to nothing." The deficiencies of schools and teachers were made manifest, and the proposal was put forward that, as the Church had failed, the State should now undertake the responsibility for secular instruction, and give facilities to the religious denominations to enter the schools on two afternoons a week, and also compel the scholars to attend some Sunday school or licensed place of worship. The pamphlet attracted much attention, not so much for its novelty as for its authorship.

It does not seem to have been noticed that Dr. Hook's allegations of inefficiency were a repetition of inspectors' reports, nor has it before been known that Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth played a part in the appearance of the pamphlet. It was in April, 1846, when the latter was chafing at the delay, that Dr. Hook wrote announcing his intention to publish, and asking for information under the following general heads:

"1. What is necessary in order to make education in England as efficient as it is in Holland and Prussia?

"2. What are the existing means of education through the National Society and British and Foreign Schools?

"3. The impossibility of voluntary associations to educate, except by the monitorial system, and the defects of that system.

"4. The number of masters requisite."

At the end of May, after much correspondence on details, he submitted the MS. with a characteristic letter:

"If you approve of it, I will write to Mr. Murray

¹ It was written in the form of a letter to the Bishop of St. Davids, a tolerant prelate who was opposed to the claims of Denison and his party.

about the publication of it. If you think that it will not benefit the good cause, I have not the least objection to your committing it to the flames. It will be no pleasant thing to publish it, therefore I almost hope you will condemn it. For I shall be attacked, I suppose, on all sides."

Needless to say, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, while not agreeing with the proposals, welcomed such an authoritative attack on the inefficiency of the schools and the exclusive claims of the ecclesiastical party :

"The pamphlet," he replied, "is a great experiment worthy of the hardihood which has led you to dare and to accomplish so much ; and if the organs of the High Church party will unite with the organs of the State party in its support, the pamphlet would make a great impression on public opinion. It is important for its success that it should bear, as it does, the complete impression of your own mode of thought and expression. On these, therefore, I offer no suggestions. The success of the work would certainly be impaired if it did not retain its perfect individuality and unqualified originality in these as in other respects."

But if he did not wish to alter the style, he worked hard to press into the pamphlet the most striking facts to support its thesis, and he also discussed thoroughly with Dr. Hook various difficulties which the proposals raised, difficulties of finance, of school management,¹ of Dissenters' opposition, yet not over-stepping the limitations imposed by office :

"I hope to have afforded you my assistance in a manner consistent with my official duties, one of which is to give all the information in my power to all parties interested in promoting elementary education. It may not always be prudent to avow that this has been done. You may readily imagine that the official restraints

¹ "Let me conjure you," wrote Dr. Hook on this point, "not to permit town councils to have anything to do with it. I have had twenty years' experience of corporations, reformed and unreformed, and I have always found them, no matter what party is in power, so influenced by little, local, party, jobbing, petty, paltry feelings that they do injury to any and every cause they take in hand."

which confine me within these limits have often been abundantly galling, as they are now, but I must not be seen in this matter."

The pamphlet appeared early in July, and Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was so impatient to know its reception that he wrote to various parties to learn their views. To Edward Baines, Junr., he sent a description of the first effects in London: how liberal opinion favoured and Church opinion condemned the proposals; and with an assumption of aloofness, not perhaps innocent of all malice, he asked to be informed of North of England opinion:

"You will not only confer upon me a sincere gratification in the renewal of our former intercourse, if you will in like manner describe to me what are the effects of Dr. Hook's pamphlet in your own neighbourhood, but, sifted as such a relation may be by your own penetration of the instincts of the great Nonconformist body in the North of England, you might enable me to form more just conclusions than I should otherwise be able to do of the political and social wants of the time on this all-important subject."

To the Secretary of the British and Foreign School Society he wrote in similar terms, and after a favourable reply, wrote again:

"Your note gives me hopes of the removal of a great impediment to progress, arising from the objections to State interference which had transiently been so generally adopted among the Dissenters. I have seen one of the chief agents and promoters of the Sunday School Union, who tells me that the chief members of the Committee are satisfied with Dr. Hook's proposals."

To Lord John Russell he reported the state of public opinion:

"Among those who have imagined themselves in the National Society to be invested with almost legislative powers; and have abused their influence to retard national education for the sake of the coterie, his knock-down blows have left them either stunned, or enraged

with pain and shame. . . . The British and Foreign School Society are full of hope that the Dissenters will abandon their theoretical objections to the interference of the State."

The High Church party, while rejecting Dr. Hook's proposed solution, had no sufficient answer to give to his charges. Their position was not unlike Gladstone's, who, in a letter to Dr. Hook not hitherto published, said:

"For the last six months before my resignation I had been a member of the Committee of Privy Council on Education: but during that time we did nothing. . . . Generally, I confess, I should like to try a larger extension of the present system before altering it fundamentally."

The uncertain people were the Voluntaryists, for the proposal to divide "secular" and "religious" instruction cut their argument in twain. The *Leeds Mercury* gave first "a careful and accurate analysis" of the pamphlet, but reserved its comment, thus gaining time to reconstruct the position. After a time, Baines replied to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth that, while it was the fairest and most liberal proposal to Dissenters he had yet seen, he could not go the smallest way towards State education:

"By perfect freedom of education," he continued, "with the wholesome stimulus of competition, we should seek to attain an education as universal and of a higher moral quality and spirit than any stereotyped form that could be established by the State."

In the *Leeds Mercury* and, in the autumn, in his *Letters to the Right Honourable John Russell on State Education*, Baines made eloquent and impressive attacks on State interference. The *Letters* in pamphlet form occupy 164 pages of small print, and are an excellent example of polemical writing. But they "prove" too much: they "prove" that the apparent deficiency in school provision does not exist; they "prove" that the quality of existing schools is satisfactory: even the frequently maligned dame schools are justified:

"Can any one give me a substantial reason," he cries rhetorically, "why a lady of middle or rather advanced life, say, a widow, of respectable education, who has all her life had experience of children, should not manage little boys or girls from four to seven years of age as well as the best *élève* of the best normal school? I don't say she will always do it as well: but I do say she will often do it better. . . . If they were not respected they would not obtain scholars."¹

Baines was on safer ground in praising the reality of the voluntary principle, and in emphasising the danger of a State tyranny, although it is almost a complete answer to him to remember, in some later words of Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's, that the "Parliamentary Grant depended upon an annual vote, and that the administration of no other department was the subject of discussions so frequently renewed both in and out of Parliament." The Voluntaryist argument, of course, ignored the facts, and the *Letter* of the Honorary Secretary to the London Diocesan Board of Education to the Bishop of London, in November, 1846, may be quoted as one of the many available illustrations of the inadequacy of voluntary efforts:

"The humiliating fact must be acknowledged," he wrote, "that in this wealthy metropolis, the centre of mercantile enterprise, the depositary of wealth and the seat of luxury, many thousand children are growing up without any instruction, secular, moral, or religious."

He estimated the needs of London at fifty additional schools, a special fund of £20,000, and an additional annual income of £2,000.

Dr. Hook was not wedded to his own proposals, and admitted that the criticism of Dissenters, who anticipated an increase in the power of the Church, was correct. But, as Church criticism grew in bulk and variety,² he expressed his disappointment that Church-

¹ Letter 6.

² A host of pamphlets appeared which cannot be noticed here. Almost all of them admitted that further public assistance was necessary, even when they opposed Dr. Hook's proposals.

men should be so blind as not to see that, if they were to control the education of the people, they must seek State aid for secular instruction and fasten on religious teaching as their own domain. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, however, was more optimistic about the effects of the pamphlet, and described to the author the good that had been done :

"It has roused the indifferent, produced extreme consternation among the small *pedlars* who work the machinery of voluntary *côteries* against the national interests—it has overwhelmed in disgrace and shame the advocates of antiquated nonsense—it has destroyed the homage paid to the names of things long since effete, such as the monitorial humbug and the make-shift at the Sanctuary.¹ . . . I intend to devote my leisure to a careful statement of principles, and the evolution of a plan of procedure both in principle and detail."

Dr. Hook felt less secure, and replied: "The opposition is evidently so decided, that it would be presumption in me not to suppose that there are just grounds for it. So that, as you once observed, my work is destructive, rather than constructive."

It was during these controversies that Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth prepared the Minute of December.² His active mind also produced other proposals which did not mature, chief amongst which was the setting up of a model school in each inspector's district, well equipped with books and apparatus, under a trained and experienced schoolmaster receiving a salary from Government of £200 a year; also the appointment of an examining board to control the award of teaching diplomas and of Government exhibitions to normal schools. This examining board was to be

"composed of some man of acquirements, selected by the Government from each of the Committees of the two Societies, and of their Secretaries, and in course of

¹ The headquarters of the National Society.

² See pp. 173, 174.

time of some duly qualified representative of the Congregational Union, and of the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodists, and with them might be associated laymen chosen for their peculiar fitness by the Government"

—the first suggestion of a kind of Consultative Committee, though for a very limited function.

The Minute met with a varied reception: Progressives thought the proposals fragmentary and unimportant, and were beginning to demand free and compulsory schools; Voluntarists saw in them a dangerous extension of State power; the Church party, on the whole, could see no new cause for alarm.¹ It was something gained that even Archdeacon Denison applied for the new grants²—though he withdrew the application later—and that, when the education estimates came before the House of Commons in April, 1847, the increased vote of £100,000 was carried by a large majority; but the bitterness of the opposing factions drew from Lord Brougham the deserved reproach that the Church and the sects liked controversy more than they liked education. The charge made by John Bright, that every step taken by the Committee of Council since 1839 had been in favour of the Church, is an indication of the suspicion felt by many of the Government's supporters, and of the difficulties in Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's path. The best proof that he had taken the only step that was practicable is the fact that he carried with him men of varied and moderate opinions, and was opposed chiefly by groups whose views were wholly irreconcilable.

Opposition to the Minute appeared early in 1847, and Dr. Hook warned him that "Mr. Baines and his class of Dissenters are getting up a faction against the Government plan." As a counterblast Dr. Hook

¹ See Report of National Society for 1847, which welcomes the Minute on the ground that education would be "left in the hands of those who would be prompted to approach and handle it from a care for the immortal souls of the children."

² *Notes of My Life*, p. 99.

mustered all the forces he could lay hands on, comprising "Conservatives, Radicals, High Church, Low Church, and Unitarian Dissenters," and succeeded even in holding together so heterogeneous a crowd. They refused to accept some resolutions that Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth prepared, as these were "a mere echo of the Minutes;" but, with a zeal that made him "ready to die in the cause," Dr. Hook organised a great public meeting in Leeds and secured a victory.

"Poor Baines seems demented," he wrote. "He relies on exciting the anti-Church party. We have a large party among the working classes who have more than once come to my rescue against Baines and his followers. This cry of Baines's will secure Lord John Russell's Government a seven years' reign."

The Voluntaryists appealed to a popular sentiment in an individualistic age—the fear of enslavement; and although Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth found similar united support in Sheffield and other large towns, the opposing movement acquired strength, and in the Parliamentary elections of 1847 scored some great victories, including the defeat of Macaulay, who had ably defended the right of the State to provide the means of education.

As in 1839, so in 1847, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth published an anonymous pamphlet, by direction of the Committee of Council, under the title: *The School, in its Relations to the State, the Church, and the Congregation*.¹

In the first chapter of a vigorous and able argument he bases the case for State aid on "the moral and intellectual conditions of the people, on which such vast consequences depend." After showing that those conditions were evil, he deduces from the insufficiency of private charity and voluntary effort the right and duty of the State to make further provision, always recognising that "the whole elementary education of England tended towards a religious organisation." He meets the Voluntaryist position by the popular appeal that education is a good policeman:

¹ Reprinted in *Four Periods of Public Education*, pp. 433-551.

"Those who pretend that public liberty is endangered by the rewards which Government desires to give efficient schoolmasters and their assistants (representing it as the invasion of an army of Government stipendiaries) appear to forget how many thousand troops of the line are employed to protect the institutions of the country—how many thousand police to watch their houses and protect their persons—how many gaolers, wardens, and officers of the hulks have charge of the victims of popular ignorance and excess—how many ships are annually freighted with their frightful cargoes to the pandemonium of crime in Van Dieman's Land—how many overseers have charge of the convict gangs—and how vast is the outlay which sustains the indigence of orphanage and bastardy, of improvident youth, sensual maturity, and premature age."

In the next two chapters he deals with the appointment of inspectors and shows the value of their reports. They have revealed that the root of the trouble lies in the schoolmaster himself, his inefficiency, his poverty, his lack of prestige. "To build spacious and well-ventilated schools," he declares in a typical passage, "without attempting to provide a position of honour and emolument for the masters, is to cheat the poor with a cruel illusion." He attacks the *laissez faire* doctrine by the argument that in education the most unenlightened are the least prepared to make sacrifices for mental improvement, and that, while philanthropy and individual exertion are excellent virtues, experience has shown that the aid of the Government is required to give them stability and permanence. He admits the reality of the sacrifices that have been made in founding normal schools, but he asserts that poverty compels them to select their students "not from any peculiar fitness for this vocation, but rather on account of the absence of qualifications for any other."

The last chapter faces the religious problem, and it aroused the wrath of Archdeacon Denison, who either read into it more than he was warranted in doing, or misunderstood it. It clearly recognises that the

"combined" system¹ will not be acceptable to the country. To the statesman it has the attractiveness of economy, efficiency, and seeming harmony, but experience had shown that "every system of combined education which has been proposed, whether on a purely secular basis, or on that of toleration, or on that of religious equality, has been rejected promptly, if not indignantly, by the religious communions of England." There remains, therefore, only a denominational system, and he claims that the *Minutes* of 1846 indicate the only way of advance by which the schools can be aided without violating principles of equity :

"It is difficult to conceive any system by which the sympathies of the religious congregations could be more carefully consulted—by which their discretion could be left more completely unfettered—or which could afford effectual assistance, on terms more conducive to the interests of civil and religious liberty."

It will be seen that the pamphlet was a cogent defence of State interference in education as well as a defence of particular enactments. Writing at a later date,² on the *Minutes* of 1846, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth gave an important additional argument :

"The motives for placing great administrative power in the Education Department were important. There had been no correct idea of the quality and number of the staff required in schools, nor of the nature of the training which was needed in the education of efficient teachers. Even if true conceptions had existed of what was to be done, it would have been impossible to raise by voluntary agency the funds needed to meet the necessary expenses. Or if an Act of Parliament had been passed giving to local authorities power to build and manage schools, this Act would only have increased the number of the schools of the type which had previously existed. Much difficulty, without this new instrument, would have been encountered in attempting to raise the popular estimate of the cost of education to the level needed to secure its efficiency. As a means of creating a staff of teachers adequate in numbers and

¹ See p. 150, note.

² MS. of 1877.

ability to this national enterprise, and of proving by experience what must be the cost of efficient elementary education, it was indispensable that the first steps should be taken under the responsibility of the Education Department. It was of supreme importance that this department, acting with the sanction of Parliament, should be primarily responsible for everything relating to the efficiency of the organisation and instruction in schools, and for the standard of instruction. Until a true conception of the first steps in the organisation of schools had been established, it even seemed expedient that the annual grants should be appropriated to the several officers of the staff on the fulfilment of specified conditions."

But, important as is this extension of State control as a landmark in the development of a system of national education, it is equally important to remember that the *Minutes* of 1846 were designed deliberately to preserve the virtues of individual effort. Baines had attempted to antagonise public opinion by asserting that the proposals would raise the annual public expenditure in education to one and three-quarter millions: Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth replied with the simple yet startlingly sufficient answer that, before this sum could be called for, nearly two millions must be raised by voluntary subscriptions, "and, what is perhaps more difficult, the schools throughout the country must be made thoroughly efficient."¹ His conception, therefore, of the meaning of State aid emphasised, if anything, the complementary value of voluntary aid.

Associated in origin with the *Minutes* of 1846 was the management clauses controversy. The terms of union, which already existed between the National Society and many Church schools, presupposed a school committee of whom the clergyman was one, but as, apparently, the National Society had not rigidly insisted on securing a management committee, many schools were still controlled by the clergyman alone without let or hindrance. The absence of any security

¹ Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth notes, in the middle 'seventies, that the annual grant had not even then reached the figure prophesied by Baines.

of permanence meant that the management of schools was often in a chaotic state and might devolve "on the individual trustees and their heirs, who might be non-resident, minors, lunatics, or otherwise incapable." Time would have brought a "harvest of discord, confusion, or plunder."¹ Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, in offering liberal terms of State aid, was anxious to secure a guarantee that the money was not endowing intolerant and exclusive religious teaching, and he also held that "the absence of a committee of managers is either a sign or a cause of an absence of interest in the school among the influential laity of the neighbourhood." His policy throughout had been to secure such interest, and, as early as 1839, in his first circular to applicants for grants, the "school committee" is mentioned,² just as, in his first circular to inspectors, he instructs them to communicate "with the parochial clergyman or other minister of religion connected with the school, and with the school committee, or, in the absence of a school committee, with the chief promoters of the school."³ It is clear, therefore, that the management clauses added nothing new to his conception of school government.

But he knew that the whole position needed regulating. In 1846 the National Society circulated to its schools a copy of terms of union which referred any controversy, as to the instruction, to the Bishop, whose verdict was to be final. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth wrote at once to protest against this new provision :

"It places the whole of the instruction in elementary schools under the guidance and control of ecclesiastical authority. I will not stop to show you, as I might, that if this be a deliberate act it is a revolution in the affairs of the National Society."

He began, therefore, to draft management clauses which should give their due place to the three groups of interests involved in every school : the subscribers, the religious or educational society with which the

¹ *Minutes*, 1847-8, vol. i.

² *Minutes*, 1839-40, pp. 9, etc.

³ *Ibid.* p. 22.

school was connected, and the Committee of Council as the distributor of national funds. These clauses were based on the National Society's own form. They gave the chairmanship of the school committee to the vicar, and a place to the subscribers. The superintendence of the religious instruction was left to the vicar alone, but, in case of dispute, the members of the committee were to have the right of appeal to the Bishop. The other matters were to be decided by the committee, subject to the control and advice of the inspectors and the stipulations of the Committee of Council.

To suit the different conditions of localities four clauses were issued, A, B, C, and D, and in each case the moral and religious instruction was confided to the clergy,

"but in all other respects the management, direction, control, and government of the said school and premises, and of the funds or endowments thereof, and the selection, appointment, and dismissal of the schoolmaster and schoolmistress and their assistants shall be vested in and exercised by a Committee."

The clauses differed in detail as to the selection of the lay members, but agreed in the principle that the management of every school should be exercised by a properly constituted body. The National Society gave its assent to the proposals in 1846,¹ and they were issued on June 28, 1847.

The clauses may seem now to have been void of offence, but they gave rise to a controversy as bitter as any to be found in the history of religious disputes. They divided the National Society into two opposing camps, and almost produced a cleavage. Archdeacon Denison made the question an annual battle at the annual meetings of the Society, and he has left on record a lurid account of the malicious intentions of the Committee of Council.² In his zeal he has overstated the facts somewhat: he discerned in the proposals a

¹ *Minutes*, 1846, vol. i. pp. 25-27. Also *Report of National Society*, 1847.

² *Notes of My Life*, chap. vii.

"Whig plot" begun in 1830 and culminating in 1870, and somehow manages to make "the able and adroit secretary" responsible throughout! The motive of the plot was "to rob the Parish Priest of his Office in the school," an offence which to the Archdeacon's mind seemed to be synonymous with the "denial of Christ."

If the Archdeacon was bold of speech he was no less prompt in action. He withdrew his application for the new grants, and wrote a significant note to the inspector: "My dear Bellairs, I love you very much; but if you ever come here again to inspect, I lock the door of the school, and tell the boys to put you in the pond." Other objectors made more gentle protests than this vigorous representative of the Church militant, and he was left more and more to fight alone, all the while realising that it was a losing battle. The realisation did not daunt him, and like the pagan king who fought the more resolutely for the old gods as his friends deserted them, so Archdeacon Denison grew more and more established in his opposition. Up to 1852 he did battle in the meetings of the National Society against the spirit of compromise, and in that year he turned half his vicarage into a training school and middle school, and there exercised his lusty independence.¹

Some difficulty was also experienced with the

¹ This is not the place to revive the details of a struggle whose chief importance for the purpose of this book is to afford an illustration of the difficulties that beset Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth in his last years at the Privy Council Office. It is difficult now to realise the bitterness of his opponents. The *Reports* of the National Society maintain an uncomfortable silence about the storm that was raging within its own gates, but from newspapers and pamphlets it is easy enough to see the passions that were aroused. In 1849 Denison scored a success, when, amidst much enthusiasm, in a meeting that lasted eight hours, he exclaimed: "I do not hesitate to declare open war . . . against the Committee of Council. On February 7, 1850, a meeting at Willis's Rooms of the High Church party marks the zenith of their agitation. Every kind of suspicion, every bitter gibe, every charge that could be laid upon the Committee of Council was expressed there, and the exaggeration produced a reaction. Pamphlets in support of the Government proposals began to appear (e.g. *A Defence of the Committee on Education*, by Rev. Sir Erasmus Williams, Bart.; *The Government Scheme of Education Explained*, by Rev. H. Hughes; *The Exposition at Willis's Rooms*, by Rev. F. Close; etc.), and the moderate party were roused to defend the Government scheme. By 1852 Denison had realised his defeat.

Nonconformists on details connected with the *Minutes* of 1846. The Wesleyan Education Committee, who had never been admitted into full relationship with the Committee of Council like the two great school societies, were now invited to participate in the new grants, yet their relationship to the inspectors who would visit their schools was nowhere defined. Moreover, the position of Wesleyan children attending Anglican schools was to them a source of mistrust. A long correspondence was carried on, a correspondence that seems to have tried Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's patience sadly, and so unpromising were the negotiations at one stage that Lord Ashley was persuaded to act as mediator. But on April 7, 1847, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth wrote to announce that the Committee of Council were disposed to provide for the inspection of Wesleyan schools in a similar manner to that of British and Foreign schools, and to recognise the Wesleyan Committee.¹ A more subtle difficulty occurred with the Congregationalists who were not Voluntaryists, and whose goodwill it was therefore doubly important to secure. The *Minutes* of 1846 required that the managers of Nonconformist schools should report to the Government inspectors concerning the religious knowledge of the pupil teachers and monitors they employed. By a super-sensitive conscience this could be interpreted as a secular authority exerting compulsion on a spiritual question, and Dr. Vaughan, of Manchester, who, through his journal the *British Quarterly*, had considerable influence on Nonconformist thought, led a determined struggle against the requirement. The Committee of Council, by a Supplementary Minute of July 10, 1847,² relieved the managers from this requirement; but Lord Lansdowne's statement in the House of Lords, on July 22, that there *must* be some religious instruction in every school receiving Government aid, seemed to the Congregationalists the same demand in another form,

¹ Some of the correspondence is reprinted in *Minutes*, 1846, vol. i. pp. 17-24.

² *Minutes*, 1846, vol. i. pp. 33, 34.

and the agitation redoubled. Lord Lansdowne, who did not appreciate such fine points of distinction between secular and spiritual spheres, wrote to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth a letter despairing of a movement with so perverse a disposition "to cavil and to quibble" at such minor points, and objecting to any modification of his sound rule on the ground that it would allow "any disciple of Tom Paine's or Robert Owen's" to set up a school and claim Government aid. But Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth knew the religious temper better, and sought to find a way which should meet the Congregationalists' demand, and yet not open the door to non-religious schools. Dr. Vaughan's agitation gained support, and the *Manchester Guardian* expressed the fear that if the scruples of the moderate Dissenters were not regarded, Lord John Russell would "do more to obstruct the progress of popular education than a hundred of the ablest opponents of State interference."

In December, 1847, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth proposed to Dr. Vaughan that the Congregationalist Churches should form an education committee, whose members would be regarded as "faithful and able representatives of the religious communions with which they were connected," and whose support of schools would satisfy the Committee of Council without any formal declaration of any kind, whether as concerning pupil teachers or scholars. Dr. Vaughan replied that a further Minute would satisfy them better, and the point was conceded. Schools which declared that, on religious grounds, they objected to make any declaration as to the religious instruction of the scholars, were allowed to claim Government grants on the ground that they were "supported and governed by a religious congregation."

The least troublesome group in these years of sectarian dispute was, perhaps, the Evangelical party within the Church of England, and perhaps for that reason, and also because he was nearer to it than to any other, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth allowed himself the luxury of a little righteous anger in a letter to one of its best-known members, the Rev. F. Close, of Cheltenham,

afterwards Dean of Carlisle. Mr. Close was an opponent of Denison, and a whole-hearted supporter of Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's proposals. In 1848 he founded a training college at Cheltenham on liberal principles, and was brought much into connection with the Committee of Council, receiving advice and encouragement from the Secretary. In 1848, after some of the troublesome points connected with the *Minutes* had been settled, but when Archdeacon Denison's campaign against the management clauses was increasing in volume and fury, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth charged the Evangelicals with lethargy and tardiness in meeting the onslaught:

"They have stood by," he wrote, "while all the great schemes of the Church, as respects the position, constitution, and management of her training schools—as respects the government of the National Society and the nature of the demonstrations which it has made on great questions of public interest—and as respects the combination of the contributions, influence, and active exertions of the clergy and laity, have been mainly directed by a small clique of laity and clergy who belong to the modern idealistic and Romanising party in the Church. The Evangelical clergy and laity have stood by and suffered this monstrous usurpation. . . . My belief is that you have now the power to awaken the entire body of the Evangelical clergy and laity of England, and to administer a heavy blow and great discouragement to the Anglican Romanising party in their designs on the education of England.

"Do not let the occasion pass!

"Once past, it may not recur!

"Be assured that you do not misinterpret the 'wily Secretary.' You will have Lord Ashley, Lord Chichester, Lord Kinnauld, Lord Waldegrave, the Dukes of Argyll and Sutherland, Lord Carlisle, and a great body of earnest-minded Christian men of great influence on your side."¹

¹ It would be too much to assert that the Rev. F. Close was influenced by this appeal, but he was a leader in the reaction against Denison, who mentions him specially in his account of the National Society meeting in 1852, and his own fear of being kissed by the leader of the Evangelicals in their gratified enthusiasm of victory!

Enough has been said to indicate that the successful establishment of the proposals of 1846 is a clear proof of Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's tact, energy, and understanding. Through the bitterness of religious feud and sectarian jealousy he had to steer a way on a ship that had to be made seaworthy as it went along. In addition to the unceasing controversy in which he was involved, he had to devise the machinery for the efficient establishment of the changes. No fewer than twenty-three official forms were issued in connection with the maintenance grants,¹ and examinations; and every accredited teacher and apprentice came into direct association with the central office, which paid him direct. By June 30, 1848, in spite of opposition and of trade depression, there were 517 schools and 1,437 teachers and apprentices receiving grants under the new *Minutes*. The amount of detailed labour, added to the burden of conflict which was thrown upon the Secretary, was too much even for his strength and energy, and increased the drain upon his health, which had long been a source of worry to his friends. An intolerable strain was soon to reach its tragic climax.

¹ *Minutes*, 1847-8, vol. i. pp. cxlii-clxxx.

CHAPTER VII

ADDED BURDENS: RETIREMENT FROM OFFICE

THUS far the account of Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's work has referred almost exclusively to England, but the picture would be incomplete if reference were not made also to the special problems in other parts of Great Britain which complicated his labours.

Mention has already been made of the visits paid by him to the Glasgow and Edinburgh Normal Schools in 1837, and his subsequent appeals to Stow for trained teachers. In 1839 Scotland and England were united for the purpose of the education grants, and in this way Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was brought into close touch with Stow during the two crises of the Glasgow Normal School: its transference to the General Assembly, and the effects of the great Church Disruption in 1843, which turned Stow adrift to found a new normal school just at the moment when he thought his financial difficulties were at an end.

If Scotland from the days of John Knox had enjoyed the stimulus of a high educational ideal, and had evolved in many places a system of parish schools which did their work so well "that boys of promise entered the university, carried off bursaries, and rose to positions of commercial or professional responsibility and even eminence,"¹ it suffered considerably from a national poverty and the consequent reproach of neglected districts. Two features, at least, of Scotch education came near Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's ideal: the desire of the

¹ Kerr, *Scottish Education*, p. 199.

people for good schools, and the general high regard in which the teachers were held. The first point was admirably illustrated in a report of the first inspector for Scotland, Mr. John Gibson, who describes at length how, as he was passing through a desolate mountainous country, a ferryman, discovering his identity, despatched his sons over the hills to call together the scattered inhabitants.

"A little farther on, I saw issuing from the dark ravines one or two individuals, each leading in his hand one young child, and followed by two or three of more advanced age. . . . There stood before me a small but most interesting assemblage of seven sturdy Highlanders, surrounded by their children to the number of twenty-three. Their object was to request me to use my influence in procuring for them the services of a schoolmaster. Here were their children growing up without instruction. They were unable to afford remuneration sufficient to retain the services even of such a teacher as had been labouring among them. They assured me that, in the event of a salary being procured for a teacher, they would most willingly rear with their own hands a structure sufficiently large and commodious for a schoolhouse, and that there might be secured a tolerably regular attendance during the winter of between thirty and forty children."¹

The high regard which the parish schoolmaster had gained has been frequently described, and it was no small achievement for a country, in 1840, that the inspector should be able to report that most of the teachers "have gone through a complete literary and philosophical course at one or other of our Scotch universities. And some of them, in point of education and general accomplishment, would reflect honour upon any profession."²

But Scotland had also suffered from the consequences of the growth of large industrial communities during the Industrial Revolution, and both in the remote Highlands and in the busy Lowlands there were educational

¹ *Minutes*, 1842-3, pp. 559-561.

² *Minutes*, 1840-1, p. 281.

needs and defects not very different from those which were common in England. Religious and philanthropic societies had been attempting to fill in the gaps: the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland, societies to teach the Highlanders to read Gaelic, and an Education Committee appointed in 1825 by the General Assembly of the Church, had achieved varying results by means of teachers imbued with a "genuine missionary and philanthropic motive."¹

Stow's efforts sprang from the same motive. Beginning as a Sunday school teacher in the slums of Glasgow, he was soon led to the conclusion that isolated teaching on one day of the week was more than undone by the more constant teaching of the gutter during the remaining six days, and to the equally important truth that instruction and education were distinct, and sometimes even exclusive terms. From this realisation sprang his theory of moral training: "giving to the mind a habit of thinking, and of thinking correctly . . . training the child to feel aright, and training to the habits of acting aright."²

In 1826 the Glasgow Infant School Society was founded and a school was opened. Wilderspin's plan of physical training was adopted, and Stow added to it his system of moral training, and received students to be trained in the system. In 1831 a juvenile school was added, and Stow's fame began to spread. With the aid of public meetings and appeals, and also by the generous use of his own means, he struggled through several years, until, with a new committee called the Glasgow Educational Society, new buildings were erected, in 1838, at a cost of £12,500. By 1840 no fewer than 505 "trainers" had been through the institution and had gone out to Scotland, to England, and to all parts of the

¹ Kerr, *op. cit.*, shows that the motive was sometimes superior to the ability. It is of one of these teachers that he relates the story of the man sick of the palsy who was borne of four. When asked how he would explain the passage to his class this teacher replied: "that he could no explain it, for it always seemed to him to be a 'pheelical impossibility.'"

² Stow's *Training System*, p. 20.

English-speaking world as the evangelists of a new attitude to the education of the young.

In spite of a grant of £1000 from the Committee of Council in 1839, as well as an earlier one from the Treasury, the financial difficulties of the Glasgow Training School were serious, and Stow's appeals to Dr. Kay, as soon as he was appointed Secretary to the Committee of Council, were frequent and pointed. The appeal for £5,000 in February, 1840, printed in the *Minutes*, was the result of private correspondence, and was Dr. Kay's own suggestion. It led to a vote of £2,500 to complete the building, and a promise of further consideration when the next Parliamentary grant had been made.

But financial troubles increased, and in March, 1841, Stow wrote to Dr. Kay at length :

" You may justly say that I presume too much on your friendship, but when a person has a certain amount of esteem and confidence, fear is shut out, and, therefore, like a bankrupt in ordinary business, I lay before you our forlorn condition, and ask your private advice what course we ought to pursue. The fact is, we are in prosperous poverty, having an immense demand for goods and no money to lay in and secure the material, and we are obliged too frequently to lay in a stock of B and even C raw material, when a little more capital would enable us to secure, what is everywhere in demand, A. The present Liberal Government with the Poor Law Commission, and an M.D. of notoriety at their head, or foundation rather, has done more for real education, *alias* Mental and Moral training, than has been done for two centuries past. . . . Our debt is large, and the interest is heavy. Annual subscriptions are not easily got in. Would you advise our applying for as much as would finish the buildings in addition to the £2,500 so handsomely granted already? Dare we apply for the £700 of interest? Dare we apply for a further grant to liquidate the debt ? "

Dr. Kay's reply is not on record, but the appeal of the Society a month later for £1,200 for building, and for an annual maintenance grant, was probably made on his advice. He was himself at that time realising the

financial problem at Battersea. By the end of 1841 the Glasgow Society was £11,000 in debt, and its income was less than its expenditure.

Meanwhile, the Education Committee of the General Assembly, which had been training teachers in one of the Edinburgh schools for a period of one month or more, had made application in 1841 for funds to build normal schools in Edinburgh and Glasgow; and to the Committee of Council, as also to Dr. Kay, the support of the Church of Scotland seemed to promise more permanence and stability than the impecunious society at Glasgow. A scheme was therefore devised to bring the Glasgow school, and one to be erected in Edinburgh, under the General Assembly,¹ and the Committee of Council offered a building grant of £10,000, and an annual maintenance grant of £1,000 for the two schools.

These negotiations only harassed Stow the more :

"We have accounts to pay to tradesmen and interest of debts," he wrote early in 1842, "amounting to nearly £4,000, which, if not immediately raised, will cause the institution to go down. This is inevitable, for since it has been known that we are likely to get assistance from Government our creditors are clamorous and threaten prosecution, and all receipts are dried up except what will be given through the General Assembly Committee. At this moment we are without a pound in hand, and must stop payment immediately if not delivered by the Committee of Council. I need not point out what course I would earnestly pray you to pursue, being satisfied that what you can do you will do with the same generous feeling we have always experienced."

The transfer of the Glasgow school with a part of its debt was approved by the Committee of Council in January, 1843. Stow, after his desperate financial straits, seemed to be filled with the peace passing all understanding, and in the spring of that year wrote to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth in an unaccustomed strain :

"Our seminary never was in a higher if so high a state of practical prosperity as at present. . . . All our

¹ The correspondence is to be found in the *Minutes*, 1841-2, pp. 34-58.

outstanding debts are paid. We are in equal favour with both sides of the Church contending parties, and this is favourable. We are still asked for trainers from various guardians throughout England. . . . I have to thank you for your long attention to our interests, and to congratulate you on the success of your endeavours to promote the great cause of true education as a training of the whole man."

Stow's satisfaction, however, was soon rudely disturbed by the Disruption of May, 1843, when the Scotch Church was rent on the question of civil control. The majority of her adherents separated from her communion and founded the Free Church. This ecclesiastical crisis created a new problem in education, for schoolmasters everywhere joined the seceders, and were for that reason in an untenable position. The Free Church Assembly had an enormous task to face: it had to erect churches and provide for its ministers, and with the courage of faith it appointed an Education Committee and voted a salary of £25 per annum to all masters deprived of a stipend in consequence of their secession.

Soon the General Assembly ordained that all teachers in their training schools must be members of the Church. The Rector of the Edinburgh school withdrew, with the whole of the scholars, and almost all the students, to establish a rival institution under the patronage of the Free Church. At Glasgow, Stow and every other master, save one, had seceded. His position was tragic: he was just in sight of a complete vindication of his system with the increased financial help, and "now," he wrote to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, "the Established Church Committee threaten to discharge every individual not of the establishment the moment the deed is signed." He made the reasonable appeal that the Government should require his system to be continued under the same teachers for three years.

Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth appealed to Lord Wharncliffe and to Sir James Graham, but they refused to interfere "in aid of Dissent," although the latter expressed concern for Stow's misfortune. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's further

letter to the Home Secretary shows his own deep concern :

“As Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, when my opinion has been sought by the Committee, I have recommended their Lordships to give Mr. Stow liberal assistance. His schools must long ago have failed, for want of means, if they had not been so supported. But, notwithstanding grants from the Committee of Council amounting to £4,500, Mr. Gibson’s report showed in 1842 that the Glasgow schools had contracted a debt of many thousand pounds, which they had no means of reducing ; and I was reluctantly led to conclude that Mr. Stow had not sufficient personal influence in Scotland, and that his system was not in sufficient repute, to secure from voluntary contributions an adequate income for the support of the schools.

“It was therefore chiefly at my suggestion that the Committee of Council proposed to Mr. Stow and to the Education Committee of the General Assembly that, on condition that £5,000 were contributed by the Government towards the liquidation of the debt, the schools should be conveyed to the General Assembly, who should in future be responsible for their support, and superintend their management. It was further agreed that £500 should be contributed annually by the Government and £500 by the Education Committee of the General Assembly towards the expenses of their maintenance, in addition to the school fees of the pupils and to private subscriptions.

“The great and grievous disruption of the Scotch Church has baffled all calculations, and overthrown all these prudent arrangements. Dr. Muir, the present excellent Chairman of the Education Committee, is unlikely to tolerate in the Glasgow school any seceder from the Church of Scotland. I apprehend that all Mr. Stow’s masters will be dismissed, and that all the peculiar features and the discipline of the school will perish with the removal of the masters.

“Few or no masters connected with the Church of Scotland are acquainted with the peculiarities of the discipline. For the most part, the parochial schoolmasters pursue Mr. Wood’s intellectual method of instruction, with little or no knowledge of the principles or modes of moral training of which Mr. Stow has been the practical expositor. Mr. Stow’s school would

therefore cease to exist. The school which the Education Committee of the General Assembly would found on its ruins would probably be a school of considerable intellectual merit.

“ . . . I have already told Mr. Stow, in answer to a private note, that the agreement between the Education Committee of the General Assembly and the Committee of Council on Education will most certainly be fulfilled.

“ If you are disposed to lay Mr. Stow's note and my letter confidentially before Dr. Muir, I can have no objection to that course being pursued, and as I know Dr. Muir to be a clergyman of the most elevated character, I anticipate that he would have no little sympathy for Mr. Stow's generous labours, even if he feels compelled by the sterner requirements of public duty to turn a deaf ear to his appeal.”

There was considerable delay, and it was not until August, 1845, that Stow quitted the premises that represented so much devoted work, taking with him his directors, his staff, the students in training, and the young scholars ; so complete was the exodus. But the outcome was not so disastrous as Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth had anticipated : the Free Church built new schools at a cost of £9,000, and Stow continued his work there till his death in 1864.

As Mr. Gibson, the first inspector of Scottish schools, was also a seceder, it was doubtful whether the General Assembly would continue to allow him to enter their schools. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth instructed him :

“ Have your whole business as an inspector in such a condition that, if the General Assembly remonstrate, and the Committee of Council think it therefore necessary to withdraw you from the inspection of the schools of the Kirk, you can be so withdrawn with the least possible injury to the public service.”

Gibson was prepared to fight the case, and argued that the Committee of Council had never conceded to the Church of Scotland the right to cancel an inspector's appointment, and that many ministers and teachers of the Church were inviting him, as before, to inspect their

schools. He held office till 1845, when he was appointed organiser of schools by the Free Church.

In that year Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was sent to Scotland by the Committee of Council to confer with the leaders of the Established Church on their educational policy.¹ He urged on the General Assembly a re-organisation of the abandoned normal schools, now in their possession, as a means of safeguarding the traditionally liberal instruction of the parochial schools, and a letter soon afterwards from Mr. Gordon, the new inspector, reported a better feeling as a result of the visit.

The only outstanding event in the educational history of Wales, during the 'forties, was the storm created by the Report of the Commissioners who were appointed in 1846 to investigate the conditions there. In 1839 educational provision was more backward even than in England, though the work done in the Sunday schools was not realised or understood by English writers. Both the Chartist riots of 1839 and the Rebecca riots of 1843 drew attention to the state of education in Wales, and the Commissioners' Report on the latter specifically attributed much of the excitement to the "lamentably small means of instruction of the children of the poor, and even those who may be styled the middle classes." It has already been shown that Mr. Tremeneere's first report² revealed an unsatisfactory position in South Wales, and the Rev. John Allen's report,³ in 1846, included many grave charges against both the schools and the people. But the reports of inspectors passed almost unnoticed, whereas the Report of the Commissioners was magnified out of all importance, and aroused a storm of anger whose echoes even now have not died away.

In the light of this result it is important to show in detail how Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth regarded the

¹ As his mission was to the Church he visited Stow only privately, and reported that his schools "were in a more successful condition than before the secession."

² Chapter III. pp. 102-3.

³ *Minutes*, 1845, vol. i. pp. 105-136.

inquiry that was demanded by a resolution of the House of Commons in March, 1846.¹ He prepared a Memorandum for the guidance of the Committee of Council, which illustrates once more his power of clear analysis :

“ Inquiry can be of little or no value if the results can be shown to be inaccurate or incomplete. The persons selected to conduct it should be familiar with the political and technical questions connected with elementary education. It will be difficult, on the one hand, to procure the hearty co-operation of the Dissenting ministers in an inquiry under the direction of the Government, and necessarily tending to expose the insufficiency of voluntary exertions. Scarcely less difficult will it be to induce the clergy to lay bare the utter failure of the machinery of the Church. To select for this inquiry men whose opinions and character had not a thoroughly religious cast would be to place the ministers of all Churches and congregations in a state of suspicion if not of opposition. To select Nonconformists would alienate the Church. To select High Churchmen would prevent the co-operation of the Nonconformists. A mixed commission consisting of Nonconformists and High Churchmen would result in confusion. The Committee of Council on Education can only be properly represented by men whose experience will enable them to examine the whole question with impartiality—with respect for the religious scruples of all classes, and a disposition to treat even the prejudices of ignorance or passion with patience.

“ For this purpose it is expedient to select laymen of the Church of England of liberal opinions and comprehensive views, known to have a thorough technical acquaintance with elementary schools, capable of analysing the opinions on social, political and religious questions which may be presented to them, and of diffusing juster views among all classes.”

In his draft as to the aims of the proposed inquiry he included only two divisions : the first was to ascertain the views of various classes on education, to report on the quality of instruction given, and to make inquiries

¹ The resolution was proposed by Mr. W. Williams, M.P. for Coventry, a Welshman.

into the management of charitable endowments; the second was to compile statistical particulars as to the number of schools, of children in attendance, the subjects of instruction, the means available, the teachers' qualifications and emoluments, and the state of school buildings. For this second purpose he advised the employment of "well-instructed schoolmasters, capable of giving a just estimate of the qualifications of schoolmasters with whom they might come in contact, and of the condition of any schools which they might enter."

Unfortunately, a significant addition was made by some other person to the range of the inquiry, and it came to include an investigation into the moral condition of the people of Wales. Had Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's Memorandum been acted upon strictly, had his advice been followed, the inquiry might have aroused no suspicions and have produced a reliable report, but the alteration, as the sequel will show, produced disastrous results.

Wales itself was at the time putting forth many laudable efforts to repair its deficiencies. In the summer of 1846 meetings of the clergy and laity, with the active aid of Sir Thomas Phillips, a correspondent of Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's, led to the formation of a Welsh Committee of the National Society. They issued a public appeal for funds, and their circular stated that in North Wales one in twenty of the population was attending a Church school and in Mid and South Wales only one in thirty-two, and that the daily instruction offered in other than Church schools was "of very limited extent." In some parts of Glamorgan the number was estimated as one in a hundred of the population. This Committee inaugurated a movement for the building of National Schools, and Carmarthen Training College also resulted from its efforts.

At the same time a movement began, chiefly in North Wales, for the building of schools on the basis of the British and Foreign School Society, and Hugh (afterwards Sir Hugh) Owen's tireless zeal in the cause of education inspired his fellow-countrymen to the same

enthusiasm. They formed the Cambrian Educational Society, and the Government inspector of British Schools refers to both movements in his 1846 report :

“Great endeavours are now making by the Welsh Educational Committee, which has established the Normal School at Brecon, and by the Cambrian Educational Society which, with the aid of the British and Foreign School agency, has produced a great movement in North Wales.”¹

The Commissioners' Inquiry might have aided these efforts by a full description of the facts: it only succeeded in distracting the energy of a nation by a partial interpretation of them. The three Commissioners were Mr. R. R. W. Lingen,² Mr. R. V. Johnson, and Mr. J. C. Symons,³ three young barristers, able men, but not apparently possessing the equipment which Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth had regarded as desirable. Their inquiry opened in October, 1846, and lasted about six months. They entered a country of whose language, traditions, and institutions they were ignorant, and in which the flames of religious feud were already being fanned by excited partisans. Attacks on Dissent by the Rev. John Griffith were published in the autumn of 1846, and the young and enthusiastic Ieuan Gwynneth (Rev. Evan Jones) began his defence in impassioned refutations and counter-attacks which became the arguments of a nation. The Commissioners committed grave errors in procedure. They were already suspect at the outset: they fed the suspicion by choosing assistants of mediocre ability, by examining chiefly Church witnesses and ignoring Dissenters, by casual and superficial examinations of schools, by open disregard for the religious teaching of Sunday school and chapel. They were barristers: and they seem to have viewed their task as the preparation of the case for the prosecution.⁴

¹ *Minutes*, 1846, vol. ii. p. 112.

² Fellow of Balliol, Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, 1849-70; afterwards Lord Lingen.

³ Afterwards an Inspector of Schools.

⁴ An account may be read in Principal Salmon's *Story of a Welsh Education Commission*, Cymrodor, xxiv., 1913.

The Report appeared towards the end of 1847, and was a detailed and bulky indictment of Welsh schools, much of it not very different from the many inspectors' reports published in the preceding seven years. But the hyper-critical and unsympathetic charges of immorality, and the wholly inadequate account given of religious efforts, poisoned every page of the book in the eyes of the majority. A few regarded it as "the saddening truth," but the phrase *Brady Llyfrau Gleision* (the treachery of the Blue Books) became a household word.¹

The resentment against the Government, against the Committee of Council, and against Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth strengthened the Voluntaryist movement in Wales, an advantage which Edward Baines eagerly seized.² But there were some who did not wish to lose the advantages of the Minutes of 1846, and two concessions made in 1848³ paved the way to a better understanding. The first was the appointment of a Welsh-speaking inspector, the Rev. Longueville Jones, and the second was the reduction, following an appeal from the Bishop of St. Davids, of the augmentation grant towards a teacher's salary, making it possible for a poor district in Wales to secure qualified schoolmasters at less expense. The colourless report of the inspector in 1849,⁴ condemning nothing and praising much, probably removed some lingering doubts from the minds of those who still feared control from London,

¹ It would serve no purpose to follow the controversy further here. The best known names among the enormous number of writings in the vernacular and in English are those of Dr. Lewis Edwards, the Rev. Henry Richard (afterwards M.P. for Merthyr and Secretary of the Peace Society), who is represented in the *Crosby Hall Lectures*, and Ieuan Gwynneth, who also attacked the Minutes of 1846 as unfair to Wales in two letters to Lord John Russell. Weighty words on the other side, contrasting "the uncommon amount of biblical and theological learning" of the people of Wales with the unsatisfactory nature of their moral habits and discipline, are to be found in the Charge of the Bishop of St. Davids, 1848, p. 53.

² *Letters to Lord John Russell on the History and Progress of Education in Wales*, 1848.

³ *Minutes*, 1847-8, vol. i. pp. xlvii.-liv.

⁴ *Minutes*, 1848-49-50, vol. ii.

and so helped to weaken the Voluntaryist movement.

Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's assistance was also invited by the Colonial Office to the problem of the education of the coloured races, and in 1847 he prepared a scheme¹ of industrial education, embodying the main principles he had long advocated, and designed to produce

"a settled and industrious peasantry," and "gradually creating a native middle class among the negro population, and thus, ultimately, completing the institutions of freedom, by rearing a body of men interested in the protection of property, and with intelligence enough to take part in that humbler machinery of local affairs which ministers to social order."

The scheme was based on day-schools of industry, where the Christian religion, habits of self-control, the principles of a hygienic life, the familiar occupations of gardening and handicrafts and the elements of agriculture would be taught, the atmosphere of the school being that of "a large Christian family, assembled for mutual benefit, and conducted by a well-ordered domestic economy." He proposed that the instruction should be closely associated with utility, and with the daily life and needs of the community, the boys emphasising garden occupations, the girls being specially trained in household economy, including "domestic and personal cleanliness, the management of children in infancy, and general rules as to the preservation of health." To give more advanced instruction, and to assist the formation of a "thriving, loyal, and religious middle class" he proposed the establishment of farm schools for scholars between the ages of fourteen and nineteen, designed to create a class of intelligent small farmers; and to supply the necessary teachers he advocated a system of apprenticed pupil teachers who would pass, by examination, into a normal school, governed by principles not unlike those at Battersea, where the young teacher would be won to a life of sympathy with "the wants, the cares, and hopes of the labouring class whose children he would

¹ See *Minutes*, 1846, vol. i. pp. 56-71.

have to educate." Hard manual labour, wide intellectual training, frugal diet and simple life were to be applied in the case of these negro teachers almost exactly as they had been applied at Hofwyl and at Battersea. The exceptional feature of the scheme is its tolerant sympathy and humanity; its educational interest lies in its resemblance to its author's proposals for England. It would seem to indicate that he was attempting to work out principles which he hoped might prove of world-wide validity.¹

In addition to the many official claims upon time and energy there was also an endless stream of private inquiries from friends and strangers, who, when in doubt upon any question of education, sought the aid first of the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education—and usually got a careful and full answer.² The

¹ On July 19, 1854, the Court of Directors of the East India Company sent an educational despatch to the Governor-General of India in Council which may be described as the foundation stone of the British policy of education in India. It is described in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1919, vol. i., Part I., Chapter IV., in the following terms: "The despatch was, in its main conceptions, a bold, far-seeing and statesman-like document. It imposed upon the Government of India the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education, from the primary school to the university; perhaps its most notable feature was the emphasis which it laid upon elementary education, hitherto disregarded by Government, and therefore its implicit refutation of the more extreme forms of the 'filtration' theory. To carry out this constructive work, it ordained the creation of a Department of Public Instruction in every province, with a staff of inspectors. . . . The despatch embodies the principles which underlay the famous Minutes of the English Committee of Council on Education, issued in 1846. Just as those Minutes, due in great measure to the influence of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, were of determinative importance in deciding the relation of Government to non-Governmental schools in England and Wales, so was the despatch of 1854 with regard to the relations between Government and education in India. It applies the principle of grants-in-aid, and seeks to foster a spirit of self-reliance." It does not interfere with religious education, but emphasises the importance of a sound secular instruction, adequate local management, and Government inspection.

Although there is no record at the India Office of any correspondence with Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, nor do any of his private papers show that he had any direct connection with the authors of the despatch, it is clear that his policy was the source of their proposals, and it is an important illustration of the influence of his reforms.

² When the guardian of Joan and Peter was in search of a school, Mr. Wells regards it as a humorous point that he went first to the Board of Education!

questions and appeals came from all parts of the country, and covered every aspect of school life: how to plan a convenient building, how to overcome local difficulties, how to raise funds, how to organise a school, how to teach, and, over and above all, where to find a good teacher. No person in England had a wider knowledge of available teachers than he, and none took a deeper personal interest in the fortunes of those recommended. The correspondence between him and the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland well illustrates this side of his life: they were his intimate friends through many years, and they sought his advice and assistance in terms which show how highly they valued it. They visited Battersea in its early days and selected there William Bragg, "Lady Byron's boy," as he was termed, for their school at Sheriffhales; they appointed a pupil of Mr. Hullah to teach music to their servants; they asked advice in the appointment of a governess and of a tutor, and when the son of Chevalier Bunsen (the friend of Dr. Arnold) was chosen, the Duchess wrote to Dr. Kay:

"I have held out the hope and advantage of an intimate acquaintance with yourself; if you will allow this to be, it will be adding the greatest to the many obligations we have already to you. I hope you will allow him to visit at Battersea sometimes."

They sought his advice as to the number of hours their children might study without danger of overstrain; they asked him how much coal a schoolmaster should burn; they unburdened themselves to him on William Bragg's love affairs. Bragg seems to have been a good schoolmaster, but inclined to give the Duchess slight shocks in his private life, and her letters are worthy of brief mention as throwing some light on the teacher's social position in the middle of the century. She thought his letters were "too jocose," and wondered whether attendance at the cricket club on Wednesday evenings might not lead him "into temptation." When Bragg startled the parish by becoming engaged to a

Baptist, without giving any warning, the Duchess was prepared to override local opinion and give the lady a welcome, "if she consented to attend church." But the fiancée's appearance seems to have aroused some new doubts :

"I wish William to be lectured by you, his kindest friend," wrote the Duchess ; "and could anything be said to him about the desirableness of his wife *not* being smart—the example will be important—and she had very playful ringlets."

Trivial as the instance may be, it shows that Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was a good correspondent, for the letters were long and many, and required answers. "How much trouble we have given you with our concerns!" wrote the Duchess when the *affaire* Bragg was settled, "but I always feel that in a short acquaintance we have made a friend for life, and I make no apologies."

But these detailed inquiries came from all kinds of correspondents, from clerics, from Ministers of the Crown, from Government officials, from Poor Law Guardians, from teachers, from the patrons of schools, and from faddists who had "discovered" the one defect in the various proposals of the Government. To this army of letter-writers the Secretary was the *vade mecum* in all matters educational, and sometimes non-educational. When the Bishop of Sodor and Man¹ drafted an Education Bill for the Isle he submitted it first to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth for criticism. When Mr. Hickson² was robbed of £8 in a Dutch hotel it was to Dr. Kay he wrote to find a means of redress. When Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, received three destitute children from abroad, he promptly handed them over to Dr. Kay. When the Whig Government was dissolving in 1841, the Chaplain of Norwood, seeking preferment, urged his claims upon Dr. Kay while there was yet time for the Whigs to do something

¹ Formerly the Hon. and Rev. R. Eden, Vicar of Battersea.

² The author of several educational pamphlets, and an acquaintance during Norwood days.

for him. When Mr. Wilderspin fell on evil days he wrote to Dr. Kay, probably a stranger to him, for help. When Dr. Pillans of Edinburgh evolved a scheme for the founding of a "Lectureship in Didactics" at each University, it was to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, whom he had never met, that he first submitted his proposals. When Lady Egerton was seeking a curate she asked Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's assistance. There was no question too difficult or too trivial but it was sent to him: questions on army schools, reformatory schools, schools of industry, the teaching of the deaf and dumb, the formation of a College of Preceptors, the teaching of Gaelic in Scotland and of Welsh in Wales, the misuse of educational endowments—these are a rapid selection from among some of the more important topics which were brought before him, and which received careful and full answers. There was no end to his labours, and no limit to his zeal.

It is clear, too, that he did much to stimulate his many friends to make sacrifices for education, to build schools on their estates, as he and his wife did at Gawthorpe and Barbon, and to press forward the extension of educational facilities through private enterprise. Many private letters testify to the growth of educational enthusiasm in his friends; the clearest illustration being again provided by the Duke of Sutherland, who, in 1841, probably not more than a year after the beginning of their friendship, gave orders that all the schools on his Scotch estates should be put into thorough repair, supplied with necessary desks, maps, and apparatus, and that several teachers should be sent at his expense to the Normal Seminary at Edinburgh.¹ A later gift of the Duke's created a problem of great complexity: he decided to build twelve new schools in the more neglected districts of Sutherlandshire, and to place them under the control of the General Assembly, he himself offering to pay two-thirds of the masters' salaries. This meant in practice that, although the religious instruction would not be sectarian, the

¹ See *Minutes*, 1842-3, pp. 657-8.

Established Church would control the appointment and the work of the masters. The Disruption of 1843 came before the schools were ready, and the seceders threatened to boycott the schools. The position was a complicated one, for the Duke objected to his gift being made a matter of sectarian rivalry, and wrote to one of the Free Church objectors that for a minister to seek to withhold the means of better instruction from children "seemed to him a monstrous act, and an unqualified stretch of authority and influence bringing serious responsibility." The moment Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth realised the seriousness of the seceders' antagonism he advised the Duke to recognise it, and "to administer his property in harmony with those general principles of toleration which permit without encouraging differences of religious belief and practice." He recommended, therefore, that the Duke should propose to the General Assembly the establishment of schools of mixed constitution under the control of the Established and Free Churches, and taught by masters not distinguished by special doctrinal qualifications. If the General Assembly refused to consent to this, then "the responsibility for all the evils of separation would rest on the two Churches." In the end—and the bulky correspondence covers a long period—the schools were put under the General Assembly, and sites were granted to the Free Church on which to build their own schools.

To all these demands upon his energy and time there must be added the heavy and continually augmenting pressure of daily routine work. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's outstanding ability in controlling details carried with it the usual defect that he could not entrust to other persons the tasks for which he was responsible. In his ten years at the Council Office he devoted to it a detailed care of oversight that has been too little realised. It grew with him, and at an accelerating pace; every extension of activity, the widening of the conditions which governed the award of grants, the growth of the inspectorate, the increasingly complex adjustments with religious bodies, the growth of training

colleges, and, after 1846, the direct payment to individual teachers of a part of their salary—these developments meant an enormous increase in the claims upon his mind and attention. Perhaps he did not realise how his duties had grown, and his painstaking, punctilious, tireless nature kept him at a post which had soon become too much for one person, and in the end claimed him as its victim. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's zeal in office was ultimately his zeal for humanity: a passion for social well-being which entered into the smallest part of his work and transformed it.

As early as 1844 there were indications that his friends were anxious about him. His chief assistant wrote to him in July of that year :

“Your health absolutely requires relaxation shortly, and is not equal to a continuance of the harassing, fever-exciting, depressing influences which threaten to break you down. You *must* have an *easier* position or you will break down.”

He spent his leave of absence in the Lake District in the following month, and confounded his advisers, as has been shown, by writing long and frequent letters to the new inspectors in order to promote their efficiency. And his holiday was cut short, for, in September, his assistant was ordered to winter abroad, and the claims upon Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth were multiplied.

A letter from Lady Lorne early in 1846, when he was chafing under the enforced delay imposed by political factors, shows that the symptoms of over-fatigue were clear :

“I am grieved,” she wrote, “that you should be depressed and out of spirits. I think there is no doubt that your work is not good for you now, and that you must have either change of occupation or perfect rest. I would not advise you to wait till an opportunity offers itself for your coming into Parliament (which I wish most earnestly may be soon) to give up your present situation, if, as I believe, the work is wearing you.”

But the advent of a Whig Ministry in 1846, and the new proposals contained in the Minutes of that year were not events to encourage retirement; rather were they calls to renewed effort, and there was no lack of vigour in his entrance into the new struggle. In detailed requirements the proposals were more exacting than any previous ones, and the situation was made many times more difficult by the susceptibilities of the various religious bodies. He felt the pressure of work, and on May 3, 1847, addressed a letter to Lord Lansdowne on the administration of his office. In its eight years of activity his staff had increased from one to forty, not counting the Welsh Commissioners and their assistants, yet his own position was anomalous:

“The position of your Assistant Secretary is at present unexampled in any department of the public service. The duties which he has to superintend are of critical importance—their execution is watched with the utmost jealousy by the Church and by rival sects—and probably no department of the Government more immediately acts upon public opinion. Your Assistant Secretary has almost insensibly been placed in a position resembling at least that of an Under Secretary of State. Yet this office has been created in a department the members of which regard the Clerk of the Council as their official head. Gradually, the business of the Education Committee has absorbed the greater part of the staff of the Privy Council Office. Nevertheless, as the office is now organised, every gentleman employed in the Education Department is officially subordinate *not* to the Assistant Secretary of the Education Committee, but to the Clerk of the Council.

“... With the prospect of an immediate increase in the staff of the Council Office, with the conviction that the recent Minutes, if administered with care and skill, will be a source of strength to the Government, but if either negligently or clumsily carried into execution will cause either irritation or disappointment—and consequently with an increased sense of the grave responsibilities devolving on your Assistant Secretary, I am constrained to stifle every feeling of personal reluctance, in order to bring under your lordship's attention the necessity of placing the Assistant Secretary

in a less ambiguous position. I cannot contemplate, without apprehension, an attempt to carry into execution the recent Minutes with official relations so ill defined, under the direction of an officer placed in a position which has neither dignity nor authority.

"... My experience of what occurred under Sir Robert Peel's Government induces me to say that, having now by many years' service assisted in digging the channel in which this Department of administration may continue to flow, it would be impossible for me, with self-respect, to hold my present office, with its ambiguous relations, if I were not bound to your lordship and Lord John Russell by loyal and grateful feelings, and that I must, unless an alteration be made, resign it with the first change of administration."

Serious as was this plea for a reconstruction of the Education Department, the letter ends in an anticlimax :

"Your lordship will know that it is only that I may be more useful to the Government that I request the aid of a private clerk, which I always enjoyed until I entered the Privy Council Office."

Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was informed that the Prime Minister and Lord President could not see any mode of removing the ambiguities, and in reply he gave an account of the important principles which had been safeguarded during his administration, in the face of opposition on all sides, and asked, now that the work was too much for one man to supervise, that he might be supported by officers "whose principles are in perfect harmony with the Committee of Council and have zeal and a peculiar fitness for their duties." It was with some anticipation of a breakdown that he concluded :

"I am most anxious that the internal administration of the Council Office should, as early as possible, be rendered in all respects independent of my presence, which the accident of ill-health might any day withdraw."

Later in the year temporary help was provided : the

Rev. Frederick Temple¹ was chosen as the first Principal of Kneller Hall, the proposed training college for workhouse schoolmasters, and, as the buildings were not ready until 1850, he was brought into the Council Office; also, Mr. R. R. W. Lingen was retained in a temporary appointment after his duties as Welsh Commissioner had ended. Yet, valuable as was this relief to Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, it is clear that the Education Office and its officials were not regarded with much warmth by the Ministry. Mr. Temple wrote in strong terms to Lord Lansdowne to make known his disappointment at the low salary he was offered, because that and other indications led him to the conclusion that the Committee of Council had not "sufficient faith in the certainty of the success of their own scheme." And in 1848 Mr. Lingen had to threaten immediate resignation unless his appointment were made permanent and put on a satisfactory financial basis. There was some evil force at work, apparently, though it is impossible to trace it to a definite cause.

The year 1848 was burdened with the Management Clauses controversy,² and the increasing complexity arising from the 1846 Minutes. The ill-health and nervous exhaustion which had been hanging over the office for some years attacked the officials in that year like an infectious disease. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth wrote in November:

"Mr. Armitage is the victim of chronic congestion of the brain and practical paralysis of one side. Mr. Harrison had a very sudden attack of congestion of the brain threatening paralysis, which was only averted by active treatment. Mr. Lingen has recently left the office in a state of great nervous exhaustion."

He himself was working on amidst these desolating withdrawals when, on December 9, as he was writing a reply to a letter of inquiry from Sir Robert Peel on the Tamworth Schools, he suddenly fell insensible on

¹ Afterwards Headmaster of Rugby, and Archbishop of Canterbury.

² See *Minutes*, 1847-8, vol. i., also 1848-9, for the chief correspondence on the point.

the floor of the Privy Council office, and remained unconscious for a quarter of an hour. Nature had at last asserted her rights, and the accumulated debt of thirteen years' official work had to be paid.

Although his insensibility recurred at intervals, a letter dated Sunday, December 10, the day after his seizure, shows that he dictated an apology to Sir Robert Peel for what might seem an unnecessary delay. The letter is interesting for the circumstances under which it was written :

"Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth presents his compliments to Sir Robert Peel, and not being allowed to write, begs that Sir Robert will excuse his employing another pen to say that he was prevented from completing a letter to Sir Robert Peel yesterday by very sudden indisposition, and that since that period he has been confined to bed, and prevented from making any exertion."

Friends wrote urging him to take no further risks with his health, Lord John Russell asking him not to let his "zeal for the public" hurry him back to office, and Mr. Trevelyan advising him that public duty as well as private interest demanded that he should take a long rest. Yet so strange was rest to his nature that, on December 20, he dictated a long letter to Lord John Russell to explain that there really was a cause for his breakdown :

"Your lordship is aware that I have been thirteen years in the public service, nine years and a half of which time have been spent in the Education Department of the Privy Council Office. During the whole of this period I have given on the average twelve hours of each day to the public service. This, which while I was in the Poor Law Commission might have been the result of early zeal, has become in the Privy Council Office a matter of necessity. Since I entered the Education Department the number of Inspectors has increased from two to nineteen, and the number of gentlemen connected with the office who have had a university education is twenty-five. Every hour from 1839 to the present period the Education Department has been subjected to the skirmishes of controversy, and the

parliamentary struggles of 1839, 1842, and 1846 will be memorable in the annals of party conflict. Your lordship is aware what part I have borne in the daily labours of the office in the preparation of parliamentary schemes, in the constant vigilance required for the direction of the public administration, and in the violent party struggles which have occurred. I know that you will do me the justice to say that I have never sought any personal prominence or preferred my personal interests on any occasion to those of the public. . . . I recapitulate these facts because I feel that after the serious warning which I have just received I am not at liberty to place my life, which is of some importance to my family, in any unnecessary peril."

And after offering to retire, if that were deemed best, he declared that he did not shrink from any responsibility or labour, but that, as he had explained eighteen months previously, it was impossible to conduct "a department nearly as extensive as the Poor Law Commission with the title and position of Assistant Secretary."

His proposal was that a new appointment should be made, the duties of which should be the general oversight of the department and membership of the Committee of Council, the holder "acting in the same subordination to Lord Lansdowne as junior Secretaries of State act in other departments." He concluded :

"I do not presume to put forward any claim whatever arising either out of past services, or the position which I practically at present hold in relation to the department which has sprung up under my superintendence, further than to assure your lordship that I would not shrink from the labour and responsibility of such an office. I shall be quite as ready to retire in order to facilitate such arrangements as may be considered necessary for the public interests. On the other hand, I feel it to be my duty to urge that the duties of Assistant Secretary, as at present defined, cannot be conscientiously and efficiently performed without labour which would break down the stoutest constitution, and that therefore a practical necessity exists for separating

the general duties of superintendence and deliberation from those of a more purely executive character."

Lord John Russell expressed his "great concern," and Lord Lansdowne wrote to say that the suggested reorganisation was a subject of "great interest" to him. But no proof was forthcoming of any intention to establish a real head of the Education Department. The political outlook was disturbed, and the re-awakened agitation in the Church did not promise an easy acquiescence in Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's proposal to establish an independent department with a Minister of Instruction at its head.

Meanwhile, Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth had recovered sufficiently to tire of inaction, and, early in 1849, he resumed some of his work. He completed his reply to Sir Robert Peel, answering his queries in two detailed letters. A newspaper report of an alleged case of brutality, in connection with the farming-out of pauper children, aroused his indignation, and he wrote a passionate letter to the *Times*, "under the ungovernable impulse of a disgust and hatred of the system of which these poor children are the victims." The strong remonstrances of his wife and brother, against the excitement that a newspaper controversy might entail, induced him to withdraw the letter, and he explained the withdrawal in a note which shows that the spirit was as willing as of old, but the flesh was weak :

"For the destruction of this hateful trade in the health and lives of these poor children I would run any risk if I were well. But I am not well enough to bear any constant demand on my energies, and I shall not get well without rest of mind intellectually and morally."

In returning to the office he chose the three thorniest questions as his own concerns : the Management Clauses controversy, communications from religious bodies and questions concerning training colleges—as though he could entrust such delicate matters to no other hands. "It is my intention," he wrote on February 19,

re the Management Clauses, "to devote what strength I have left to the settlement of this question."

It was obvious that he would only find rest out of the country, and doctors and friends insisted on his complete withdrawal from work. But he could not leave the cause of national education, and the department he had developed, to the risks of indifferent supervision, and he consulted both Mr. Lingen and the Rev. F. Temple on the question of appointing a temporary Secretary during his absence. The Rev. F. Temple replied frankly that Lingen was the more suitable man, that he would "wear better" in office, that a clergyman would be suspect, and ending: "I mean what I say; I mean to act on it, and I wish you to do the same." Lingen wrote offering to acquiesce in any temporary arrangement that would help to ease his chief's mind, and added the more lawyer-like *caveat*: "If, however the arrangements now to be made are to be considered other than provisional, either now, or in their consequences, I desire to reserve to myself full liberty of acting as I may judge expedient."

Apparently the Government were unwilling to lose Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's services, yet thought it impossible or inopportune to reorganise his department. In February he had announced his willingness to resign his office

"at once into the hands of any person whose ability, experience, and political views justified the confidence of the Committee of Council. Lord John Russell said that he did not know where to find such a person, and asked me whether I could recommend any one; but I was equally at a loss."

In March, Lord Lansdowne sent to him a copy of a proposed Minute explaining the Secretary's "leave of absence," and Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth re-wrote it, emphasising that he sought relief "from the intolerable pressure of executive details," and that, during his absence, he wished "to vacate the responsibilities and emoluments of the office of Assistant Secretary." A conversation with Lord Lansdowne led him to anticipate

that the suggested reorganisation of the office was in contemplation, but a letter from the Prime Minister announced that the rank of Privy Councillor would be bestowed on him upon relinquishing office. It is difficult to interpret the attitude of the Government on more charitable grounds than a pre-occupation with other matters. Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth replied :

"I conceive that your lordship is good enough to offer me these alternatives, viz. :

"1. That, after a period of rest (during which I shall receive no salary), I shall be at liberty to resume the duties and position of Assistant Secretary, as hitherto defined ; or 2. That, as a mark of approbation of my services, I may receive the rank of Privy Councillor upon my retirement.

"If I rightly understand the alternatives before me I cannot hesitate at once to prefer the distinction which you are so kind as to offer me, and to retire from my present office.

"I am, however, most anxious to do so in the way which may occasion the least embarrassment to the Committee of Council. I should be glad that the Government should have ample opportunity to select my successor, and I should be anxious to do everything in my power to aid any person who may be charged with these duties. At all times, as long as the present Government is in power, I should seek to avail myself to the utmost of every occasion to prove my constant loyalty to them, and the anxiety which I have that my resignation should cause no trouble whatever to the Committee of Council on Education."

Still no definite solution was achieved. His resignation was in Lord Lansdowne's hands, yet had not been accepted. Every care had been taken that none but himself should suffer inconvenience or embarrassment. A letter written on April 7, 1849, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, shows that his latest effort, before leaving England, was to promote the solution of the Management Clauses struggle by appealing for a settlement on the concessions recently made by the Committee of Council after negotiations with the National Society. The Archbishop replied : " Mr. Denison and his friends

are not satisfied; but they were not likely to be. . . . In all other quarters the letter has been thankfully received."

Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth left England for a continental tour which occupied six months, and for the first time, if the absence of letters may be taken as proof, his pen was laid aside and his mind undisturbed by the worries of the controversy that was rising within the National Society. The building of Kneller Hall had become the new goad to irritate an already infuriated organism, and the Church Press, in the summer of 1849, drew scarifying pictures of the teachers that the Government were designing to send out: it was "an infidel college," it would train up "a set of Socinians, rationalists, and infidels, attached to no particular religion, belief, or communion."¹ It was accepted by the extremists as a proof that the Church schools and training colleges were about to be superseded by a Government system.

The first letter which marks the return of Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth in the autumn of 1849 was from Lord Lansdowne, expressing pleasure at the "favourable account" of his health.

"Lingen and Temple," he wrote, "have both been doing very well, and we have kept in tolerably smooth water as to religious questions, the only points that from time to time disturb us. The Bishops and the reasonable part of the National Society show that they cannot decently press us for more concessions, though Mr. Denison, and I am sorry to say (though with far less violence and absurdity) Archdeacon Manning² go on throwing a little fuel into the flame."

It would, perhaps, be more true to say that the peace of non-aggressive routine had settled upon the Education Office, a peace that was to remain unbroken until, a dozen years later, the proposals of Mr. Robert Lowe awakened controversy once more.

¹ *English Review*, September, 1849. *John Bull* maintained a series of attacks in successive numbers about this time.

² Manning's part in the educational struggles of 1848-50 has been told, from a special point of view, in Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. i., chap. xx. It gives a fairly full account of the 1849 meeting of the National Society

Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's health was very incompletely restored, and his friends urged him not to alter his previous decision :

"Is it wise of you," asked his former colleague and friend, Mr. Lefevre, on December 8, "to form a fresh connection with the Committee of Privy Council? Could you stay in it with any new Government? Can you use the aid of others so as to save yourself? I doubt it much—you are too zealous and too industrious. . . . Will your health, as it is at present, bear moderate work with responsibility—or is it not better to give nature fairer play and continue your holiday till you are completely well?"

So events were allowed to take their course, and on December 11, Lord Lansdowne, after consulting Lord John Russell, wrote :

"We are equally of opinion that it is now no longer expedient, when the session of Parliament is approaching, that the Education Department should remain upon a footing which was obviously temporary. . . . We both think that the time has now arrived when, upon making a new arrangement permanent, her Majesty should be advised to express her sense of your great and zealous services by conferring upon you and upon your family the dignity of a baronetcy, for which the necessary directions will be given as soon as I have received your answer."

Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth's answer did not altogether conceal his disappointment :

"I have not ventured to intrude myself in any way on your lordship's notice, because, though I have been steadily recovering from the shock to my health which I suffered in December, 1848, and though I expect soon completely to regain the power of sustaining prolonged application, I felt that I could not withdraw the resignation of the office of Assistant Secretary to the Committee of Council on Education which I placed in your lordship's hands before I left town.

"The superintendence of a department which had gradually acquired such importance and extent would have been comparatively easy to me from a position of

authority; but, in the position in which I was placed, I could successfully regulate it only by setting an example of self-devotion. A few months' relaxation of my office would have thrown the Department into confusion. Consequently my strength failed.

"The practical difficulties which have obstructed the development of a system of public education for the poor have not been surmounted without great controversies in which, under your direction, it has been my duty to take a decisive part in opposition to the claims of the most formidable social power in the country. As I cannot hope to have conciliated either the extreme party which would reconcile the Church with Rome, or the party which would deprive the Church of her revenues, and separate her from the State, I value a mark of the approval of her Majesty and the Government of the services which I have rendered up to the period of my resignation.

"These are the feelings that, with great respect for your lordship, and many acknowledgments of the uniform courtesy and consideration which has marked your intercourse with me, induce me to accept the offer which you are pleased to make that her Majesty should be pleased to express her sense of my services by conferring upon me and upon my family the dignity of a baronetcy."

On December 15 Lord John Russell announced the Queen's consent, and added his testimony to the "able, enlightened, and laborious exertions" that Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth had made. The necessary formalities were concluded, his mother commenting on the strangeness of being asked after the health of Sir James, and on December 25, 1849, the *Gazette* announced:

"The Queen has also been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal, granting the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth, of Gawthorpe Hall, in county palatine of Lancaster, Esq., and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten."

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION BILLS AND LOCAL MOVEMENTS, 1850-1859

THE life of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, after relinquishing office, became more fragmentary and less public. His shattered health drove him to the country or abroad in search of rest, and the care of the Gawthorpe estates, and the fostering of local movements, occupied much of the leisure consequent on his retirement. His name figures from time to time in Lancashire public affairs, and the ten years of his life summarised in this chapter, though they were laborious, were years of suffering broken by intervals of energetic public action.

In the letters of Charlotte Brontë¹ a tantalisingly incomplete picture is drawn of Sir James in 1850. Their acquaintance could not have developed at a more unpromising time, for when he and his wife visited Haworth in February of that year (they were distant neighbours, separated by some miles of uninhabited moorland), the vicarage was a place of grief and haunting memories, and Charlotte was the only survivor of the four gifted children. Small wonder that she could mistakenly describe him as looking in "vigorous health"; smaller wonder that she consented to visit Gawthorpe only when her father commanded her to accept the invitation.²

¹ Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë* and C. K. Shorter's *Charlotte Brontë and Her Circle*.

² The tradition is that Sir James, who had an intimate knowledge of East Lancashire places and people, and had heard much of the Brontë family from a Burnley resident who came from Haworth, decided that Currer Bell would be found there. After visiting the church he was invited into the vicarage, and as Charlotte Brontë came forward to meet him he whispered "Jane Eyre."

Her visit gave her a clearer, but still remote view :

"Sir James is a man of polished manners, with clear intellect and highly cultivated mind. On the whole, I got on very well with him. His health is just now somewhat broken by his severe official labours."

To Ellen Nussey she wrote more intimately :

"In manner he can be gracious and dignified ; his tastes and feelings are capable of elevation ; frank he is not, but, on the contrary, politic ; he calls himself a man of the world and knows the world's ways ; courtly and affable in some points of view, he is strict and rigorous in others. In him, high mental cultivation is combined with an extended range of observation, and thoroughly practical views and habits. His nerves are naturally acutely sensitive, and the present very critical state of his health has exaggerated sensitiveness and irritability."

A promise to accompany her new friends to London had to be broken, first by the illness of her father, and, in May, by the serious condition of Sir James, and she seems then to have understood for the first time the critical nature of his breakdown : "My journey to London is again postponed, and this time indefinitely. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's state of health is the cause—a cause, I fear, not likely to be soon removed."

In August she was again their guest at the Briary, Lowood, near Windermere, and there she met Mrs. Gaskell for the first time. Her description of this visit to Ellen Nussey shows how difficult it was to win her interest :

"If I could only have dropped unseen out of the carriage and gone away by myself in amongst those grand hills and sweet dales, I should have drunk in the full power of this glorious scenery. In company this can hardly be. Sometimes when Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was warning me against the faults of the artist class, all the while vagrant artist instincts were busy in the mind of his listener."

It was a strange contrast—the timid, self-conscious, subjective, mystic Celt, and the clear-minded, objective,

energetic Saxon, whose practical idealism was now strangely obstructed by irritating weakness. The contrast probably accounts for her superficial and inadequate analysis of his character :

"Nine points out of ten in him are utilitarian—the tenth is artistic. This tithe of his nature seems to me at war with all the rest—it is just enough to incline him restlessly towards the artist class, and far too little to make him one of them. The consequent inability to *do* things which he *admires*, embitters him, I think—it makes him doubt perfections and dwell on faults."

Yet, slowly, the opposition was resolved, for, in December, she wrote to Ellen Nussey: "I begin to admit in my own mind that he is sincerely benignant to me. I grieve to say he looks to me as if wasting away." But there is no further record of their understanding. She saw him and recorded his kindness to her during her visit to London in 1851 ; and, in 1854, he was a visitor at Haworth. He was making inquiries at the time about a suitable clergyman for Habergham, and what Mrs. Gaskell has described as the "offer" of a living is more correctly described by Sir James in the following letter :

"I heard that our friend Miss Brontë had married a Mr. Nicholls. I had written to her. She had described her husband as a sensible man of high principles, and whose attachment to her had borne the trial of several years' delay. He had been described to me as a very estimable man by others. I found him all and more than I had been led to expect. They seemed in a calm and hopeful state of mutual confidence and regard. I sounded them on the possibility of any change. They both felt that they could not leave Mr. Brontë, who is 78, and to whom any change at that age would be very hazardous. We agreed that it was better not to disturb him by mentioning what was obviously impracticable. The emolument of Haworth is only £160 per annum and the parsonage, and the cure involves an exile from civilisation—the emoluments of Habergham are £200, and we propose forthwith to build a parsonage."

The Nicholls visited Gawthorpe at the end of 1854

or early in 1855, and a letter from the Rev. Patrick Brontë, dated February 3, 1855, has a melancholy interest, apart from its evidence of the continuing friendship, for it was written exactly eight weeks before Mrs. Nicholls died, and describes the illness from which she was doomed not to recover :

“Owing to my dear daughter's indisposition, she has desired me to answer your kind letter by return of post. For several days past she has been confined to her bed, where she still lies, oppressed with nausea, sickness, irritation, and a slow feverish feeling ; and a consequent want of appetite and digestion. Our village surgeon visits her daily, and we have had a visit from Dr. Mackintosh of Bradford, who both think her sickness is symptomatic, and that, after a few days, they hope her health will again return—nevertheless the trying circumstance gives much uneasiness in our little family circle—where till lately, considering our respective ages, we have all been in good health and spirits. I have read with much interest, and a thorough sense of gratitude to you and the celebrated medical gentleman you consulted, the scientific opinion respecting the state of my eyes. . . . We rejoice that your health is improving, and that the horrid neuralgia is less frequent in its visits, and has lost some of that virulence which often extends its direful influence to body and mind. Mr. and Mrs. Nicholls join me in the most respectful regards—and as soon as my dear daughter gets better she will no doubt give you a statement of circumstances in a manner more satisfactory than I am able to do.”

The state of his health, during the early years of the friendship thus tragically ended, was described by Sir James himself, in 1853, in a poignant sentence in the preface to his book *Public Education*, where he speaks of himself as “worn with work, scathed by former controversies and restored to life after four years of suffering.” But this was optimistic ; and the inroads which excessive labour had made on his constitution were not so quickly repaired.

The question of public education, in which he continued to take an absorbing interest, became, after 1849, a complex story of divided effort and local movements.

From 1850 to 1858 a stream of education bills came before Parliament, a stream which neither the Crimean War nor the convulsions of Governments could check, though none of the proposals became law. The antagonists were divided, as ever, by the religious problem; but it is a striking proof of the changed nature of the combat that the two leading parties were fighting the battle of secular schools *versus* denominational schools, and that both were agreed in allowing full liberty of conscience. Denison's party was a small and decreasing minority, and the early 'fifties, as we have seen (p. 188), witnessed his total defeat. His last triumph in the National Society was at the annual meeting in 1850, when he succeeded in passing a resolution condemning co-operation between Church and State because it prevented the former from putting her schools "under the sole and permanent control of the clergyman of the parish and the Bishop of the diocese." In 1851, after the Low Church party had circularised the country and secured more adequate representation at the annual meeting, his resolution was defeated.

The committee of the National Society were drawn largely from the High Church party, and the advent of Lord Derby's Government, in 1852, led them to approach the Committee of Council in order to gain further concessions in the Management Clauses. The concession hoped for was a very small part of what Denison demanded—it merely empowered the clergy to suspend a teacher, or exclude a book on moral as well as religious grounds, pending an appeal to the Bishop; but Denison, realising the feeling of the meeting, withdrew his resolution, and avoided a second defeat.

The struggle shook the National Society to its foundations, and almost brought into being a rival body. Moderate Churchmen were critical of the constitution of the Society, condemned the policy of exclusive schools, and expressed open alarm at the High Church training given in St. Mark's College. They drew together, in 1852, with two objects in view: "first, to make the National Society a full and fair representation

of the Church; and, secondly, to check the unseemly agitation which has for six years disturbed its annual meetings.”¹ They circularised the country as to the policy they should adopt, and the result was the formation of the Church Education Society, “to promote National Education on Protestant and Church of England Principles.”² They held their first public meeting in 1853, and supported the policy for which Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth stood; denominational schools governed by the Management Clauses; the help of the State according to the methods laid down in the Minutes of 1846; and exemption of scholars from doctrinal instruction on conscientious grounds.

Sir James felt the effects of this struggle in at least two personal attacks. *The Spectator* (May 24, 1851) devoted a leading article to the accusation that the Committee of Council had been “the unconscious instruments of a subordinate official,” and charged him with altering the words of the Minute of June, 1839—inspectors should “not be authorised to *examine into* the religious instruction given in the school,”—into the more pernicious wording of the circular of September, 1839—“inspectors will not *interfere with* the religious instruction.”³ It seems difficult to build up on this verbal refinement any very serious intent, and Sir James’s reply, that he was abroad in September, 1839, and that the change was adopted deliberately by the Committee of Council, would appear to most people a sufficient answer to the charge. But *The Spectator* was too much moved by contemporary Church anger to be pacified by the disproof of its allegations.

The old charge that the Management Clauses were first “unostentatiously” forced upon school promoters was also revived, and when it was used by the Home

¹ *Remarks on the Present State of the National Society*, First Paper, July, 1852.

² Second Paper, January, 1853.

³ In the paper, kept by Sir James, which was presented to the Committee of Council at its meeting on September 24, 1839, the first form of the words given above is struck out, and by the side, obviously in Lord John Russell’s hand, the words “New Minute” are written. Below this is written, in another and a strange hand, the second form given above.

Secretary in the debate on the Minute of June, 1852, Sir James decided to publish a letter¹ which had been written a year before by the Rev. W. J. Kennedy, formerly Secretary to the National Society, giving the history of the negotiations preceding the adoption of the clauses, and completely vindicating Sir James from the charges that had been made. Two paragraphs may be quoted from it :

“ You had then, as I said, just reason for looking after the rights of the laity, and the future welfare of the schools aided by Parliament. But then comes the further question, whether you did this in a legitimate way? And I have sincere pleasure in bearing my testimony, privately or publicly, that you did so. You had most delicate matters to deal with, and yours was no easy task in any way. If you erred, you erred on the right side, that of caution. But it should ever be borne in mind that all you did about the Management Clauses, in the important year 1846, you did (I doubt not) with the concurrence of the late Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London ; and no one will impugn their anxiety for the good of the Church in every way. In the autumn of 1846 I know that you went down to Addington to lay the whole matter of the clauses before His Grace the late Archbishop ; and I believe that in the same autumn you went to Malvern and laid the whole matter before the Bishop of London. This fact alone, if it were known, must for ever absolve you from the charge of having acted treacherously or hostilely to the Church of England. The question perhaps rather is, whether she was not unduly favoured ?

“ Afterwards I have good reason to know that you advocated the adoption by the Committee of Council of many important improvements suggested by the National Society. If these improvements had only been in the original clauses in 1846, all would have been well. These improvements were, however, eventually adopted in great measure through your agency.”

Meanwhile, two important movements, originating in Manchester,² were making the subject of State edu-

¹ In the *Times*, June 24, 1852.

² See, for a detailed account, S. E. Maltby's *Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education*.

cation an annual contest in Parliament. The Lancashire Public School Association was formed there in 1847, and formulated a plan of secular instruction, financed by local rates and controlled by local committees, "leaving to parents, guardians, and religious teachers the inculcation of doctrinal religion; to afford opportunities for which the schools shall be closed at stated times in each week."¹ The strength of this movement lay in its logical abolition of the religious difficulty; its weakness was the impracticability of the solution, for it proposed to throw aside all previous effort and start *de novo*. It rapidly secured support from Liberal politicians, chief of whom was Cobden, and, by 1849, had aroused sufficient public interest to hold a crowded meeting together for five hours while an amendment favouring a religious basis was discussed. In 1850 their meeting lasted even longer, and the Secularists won a decisive victory. Stimulated by financial and numerical support, the Association called a national conference, and adopted a name which marks its sense of growth—the National Public School Association. A national campaign was begun, and the committee included fourteen members of Parliament, and thirty-four ministers of religion, many of whom were drawn to the Association by the desire to free schools from a controversy which had impeded their progress, and by the attractive prospect of securing a settlement at a stroke.

Sir James took a longer view:

"I regard the Lancashire Public School Association," he wrote,² in refusing an invitation to attend the conference, "as the representative of a great political party which seeks to promote the education of the people for wise and just political ends. In this respect I sympathise with the labours of the Association, and I think it will be useful in bringing into strong relief not only the

¹ Much argument, both then and later, was based upon the common school system of Massachusetts. Remarkably unanimous testimony to its success was given in a pamphlet published in 1854: *Evidence as to the Religious Working of the Common Schools of Massachusetts*, with a Preface by the Hon. Edward Twisleton.

² *Manchester Guardian*, November 6, 1850.

political objects which are dependent on the establishment of a system of national education, but also those principles of civil liberty which provide that every man should have the opportunity of so training his child that he shall be fitted by his exertions to raise himself to the exercise of political franchise with advantage to the State.

"But though I sympathise with these political objects and think that the Lancashire Public School Association will do good service by bringing them publicly before the public, I cannot conscientiously concur with them in seeking to establish a system of daily schools separate from the superintendence of the great religious bodies of this country, and in which the religious influence shall not pervade the whole discipline and instruction. Moreover, I hope that, as the Association proceeds, this object will become subordinate to the great social and political rights involved in the establishment of a system of national education."

From this standpoint, the union between school and religious congregation, Sir James did not move. His own religious convictions, his interpretation of the historical development of education in England, and his firm belief that, if voluntary effort and exertion were to be preserved, the Churches must retain as much responsibility for the maintenance of schools as they could carry—these were sufficient for him to decide that the secular solution was unsatisfactory and held no promise. The problem to him was : how to secure a harmony between Church and State, so that no child should be debarred from any school, no parent's religious belief violated, no Church unfairly treated, and no voluntary effort suppressed either by inadequacy of funds or by a too easy bestowal of State aid.

A second movement in Manchester, led by the Rev. C. Richson,¹ emerged in 1850 in an attempt to solve the education question on a religious basis, and especially to get the poor children of large towns into school. He

¹ Canon Richson was a prolific writer of pamphlets, including *A Sketch of some of the Causes which in Manchester induced the abandonment of the Voluntary System in the support of Schools, and the Introduction of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill.* 1851.

drew up a bill in March, designed "to supplement voluntary efforts in the promotion of Education" by setting up District School Committees and a County Board with power to collect a school rate. Financial help was to be given to existing schools, on condition that they employed certificated teachers and did not enforce doctrinal instruction on children whose parents objected on religious grounds. If a school deficiency was found to exist in any area, the voluntary societies were to be allowed to make provision; if they failed to do so, the County Board could erect a school, the religious instruction in which would be determined by a majority vote in the district concerned. The Bill was circulated and a group of Churchmen and Dissenters was gathered together, but for a time little progress was made. On October 31, 1850 (the day of a triumphant meeting of the National Association), the Rev. C. Richson wrote to Sir James: "You will be sorry to hear that, with all the efforts of the Lancashire Public School Association before our eyes, our Society is on the eve of dissolution."

But, on the suggestion of one of the committee, the Bill was localised, a public meeting was called by the Mayor, and the "Manchester and Salford Committee on Education," representing all the Churches, was appointed to examine the Bill and report on it to a subsequent meeting. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, in a long letter published in the *Manchester Guardian*,¹ gave his public approval to the scheme, pointing out that it followed and extended the principles that had been laid down by three Governments:

"I do not perceive that the Manchester and Salford Boroughs Education Bill will, when its provisions are matured, be in opposition to any political principle which has, either directly or by implication, received the sanction of the House of Commons, or of the leaders of the two great parties which have administered the affairs of this country since 1839. On the contrary, the gentlemen who have made this proposal have the merit

¹ January 11, 1851.

of having rightly interpreted the direction in which the measures of Lord Melbourne's, Sir Robert Peel's, and Lord John Russell's Governments have gradually pointed, and of having defined, with a near approach to accuracy, the general principles of the arrangements which any of these administrations would have been ready to propose, if they had found public opinion sufficiently developed."

While thus approving the principles, he remained critical of details, and throughout January, 1851, he was in daily communication with members of the Committee. He knew, no man better, that success was hard to win, and that, while a heterogeneous group could be united for a great purpose, it could also be scattered by a stupid detail. Mr. F. Adams, in his book *The Elementary School Contest*, has represented the Manchester and Salford scheme as "emanating from" Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, a view which later writers have copied, and the secular solution as one that he opposed on narrow and prejudiced grounds. The view is misleading and partisan. He preferred a scheme associated with the Churches, for reasons already stated; but, while helping it to avoid the pitfalls that threatened, he also kept up a correspondence with members of the National Association, and hoped that the two bodies would come closer together as they explored the ramifications of the problem.

The most eminent of the active members of the National Association was Richard Cobden, who admitted at a public meeting that for fifteen years he had favoured a scheme of religious education until he became convinced that the difficulties were insurmountable,¹ and also made merry over the Manchester and Salford scheme as a "proposal by which everybody shall be called upon to pay for the religious teaching of everybody else"! In a letter to Sir James he wrote:

¹ *Manchester Examiner and Times*, Jan. 25, 1851. The *Times* (London) retorted that if the Manchester and Salford scheme proved successful Cobden would be bound by his own admission to support it.

"The probability will be that many more conscientious men of all parties will be driven to our remote refuge of despairing educationists, the purely secular system. I have been so long a witness of the impractical elements in the religious bodies, when education is the question upon which they are asked to agree, that I confess I regard with incredulity and almost hopelessness any attempt to bring them to one common ground of co-operation."

W. E. Forster, also a member, was less pessimistic than Cobden, and a letter of his shows how slight was his attachment to the National Association :

"I do not profess myself a 'Secular,' having merely enrolled myself under their flag because there was none other hoisted, and I confess that my object is simply a local rate. . . . I shall be most happy to press on this new plan [the Manchester and Salford scheme] as much as I can, though it will need care not to stultify myself by appearing to support two distinct and somewhat opposing plans at once."

Sir James did not fail to note all these manifestations of a possible *rapprochement*. The boasted unity of the National Association was the unity of despair, the result of forces in the 'forties that were already beginning to spend themselves. On the other hand, the Manchester and Salford Committee soon made what seemed to him a false step, by passing a resolution requiring the Holy Scriptures to be read in all schools receiving the proposed rate aid. Several writers have traced to this step the withdrawal of the Roman Catholics ; but in truth the Roman Catholics had never been more than lukewarm about the scheme, and had seldom been represented in the meetings of the committee. Sir James saw worse consequences : not only the withdrawal of the Roman Catholics, but also "the driving into the ranks of your opponents many men who will not tolerate any form of religious exclusion from civil privileges."¹ As the committee would not alter the

¹ See Chapter VI. p. 189, where the same difficulty arose with the Congregationalists in 1847.

requirement Sir James urged upon the chairman the importance of forestalling the danger, by giving to the ratepayer the right of allocating his payments to the support of that class of schools which he preferred. The chairman objected to the conciliation of opposition that had not been expressed, but Sir James warned him in long daily letters that he was steering for danger:

"My personal exertions have been unswervingly and unremittedly given for ten years to the promotion of public education on a religious basis. I most earnestly desire it. I exceedingly prefer it to any other problem. I trust it will not be shown to be impossible. The ship must be waterlogged and lurching into the whirlpool before I am tempted to abandon her. No external sign will I give of any apprehension of her approaching fate. But let me very seriously warn you, ere you venture to put your measure in opposition to any defined principle of religious liberty which you could by any means avoid, that by so doing you are proposing, to all men to whom the education of the people is valuable on political grounds, the serious question whether they shall not prefer a system of secular education to one which violates the conscience of all classes?"

There were two reasons at least for the warning: many Nonconformists had already objected to any kind of requirement imposed by the State concerning what they should teach or not teach as religious instruction; and the requirement was obviously the last that would be agreed to by the Secularists. It spelt disaster, and Sir James tried to repair the disaster. The chairman, however, was obstinate, and, when the committee stage ended (January 31, 1851), the proviso suggested by Sir James had not been inserted. He wrote to the Rev. C. Richson a few days later: "You will find hereafter that I have been a true prophet, and that to have permitted me to appear before your Committee to explain my views would have saved you a world of embarrassment in the approaching controversy."

During these negotiations with Manchester he was

also in communication with Dr. Hook and others, of Leeds, where a similar scheme was under discussion. On the completion of the committee stage at Manchester, he wrote to Lord Lansdowne and to Lord John Russell, acquainting them with the movements of thought in the North and the growing unity of the Churches: "A few months' continued agitation will, I think, enable your lordship to avail yourself of improved dispositions in the religious communions for the settlement of this question." Lord Lansdowne signified his approval of the measure, and promised the support of the Committee of Council if the Bill won favour in the House of Commons. Lord John Russell replied: "I consider the movement now making by Churchmen and Dissenters in Lancashire as one of the greatest importance."

Before the adjourned public meeting on February 19 was held in Manchester, Sir James's proviso for the allocation of rates was inserted, and the amended proposals were unanimously accepted—although some Roman Catholics present raised minor difficulties. Upwards of £6,000 was subscribed, and an executive committee was appointed to prepare a parliamentary bill. The *Manchester Guardian*,¹ in a spirit of bantering approval, regarded the unanimity of such opposing forces as "the nearest approximation to the millennium that our imperfect nature has yet witnessed," and thought a reconciliation between the two associations possible.

That the Government were prepared to view the proposals favourably is shown by their opposition in 1851 to a motion by Mr. W. J. Fox,² on behalf of the National Association, in favour of secular schools, a defeat which helped to change the policy of that Association. Their stumbling-block had been the schools already in existence, for to reasonable and to indifferent people the expense of building new ones seemed unnecessary. Therefore in August, 1851, the

¹ February 22, 1851.

² Mr. Fox had introduced, privately, a Bill embodying the secular solution in 1850, without any success.

Association added a new clause, providing for the inclusion of existing schools on condition that the teaching of doctrinal religion should be restricted to definite hours, that attendance at such lessons should not be compulsory, that no teacher should be required to give such instruction, and that it should not be given at the expense of public money. The *Manchester Guardian* welcomed the concession as reducing the differences between the two parties to "the very smallest dimensions," and a combination of forces might have been effected. But the chairman of the Manchester and Salford Committee, who had already shown shortsighted leadership, denounced the change as "a total revolution," and thus helped to prevent the most promising coalition of educational parties that the century had seen. The two groups were to spend valuable years in fruitless antagonism.¹

During the early 'fifties Sir James was also in close touch with various parties in Scotland who were working for an education bill to suit the changed conditions there. The causes of the agitation were varied: in addition to inefficient schools and the absence of any instruction for one-third of the children,² the revision of the salaries of parochial schoolmasters, due to take place every twenty-five years, would next happen in 1853, and it was estimated that the parochial system would lose at least one-fourth of its legal endowment. The Free Churches objected to the constitution of the parish schools and the religious test for schoolmasters, and Lord Melgund's Bill of 1851, which dealt almost exclusively with finance, did not meet with their approval. Sir James disapproved of the measure because "of an absence of any security for religion either in the qualification of the teacher, in the constitution of the committee of management, or in the nature of the instruction required." Being approached by Dr. Candlish

¹ The Voluntarist party reviewed and condemned both schemes in the *Eclectic Review*, April, 1851, and printed the article as a pamphlet. This was replied to by E. Swaine: *Secular Free Schools a Nation's Policy*.

² *Public Education*, p. 395.

and other Free Church leaders, he suggested to them that, as all the Scottish Churches accepted the Scriptures and the Shorter Catechism, it ought to be possible to work out a system of "common schools" which would avoid English complications, and to arrange for the provision of a few supplementary schools for the small dissentient minority. If this solution proved impossible, he suggested a bill based on the principles of the Manchester and Salford plan. Having won Dr. Candlish's agreement, he communicated with other bodies, and in February, 1851, was able to report to Lord John Russell: "It is clear that both in Scotland and in England the education question is ripe for solution."

These movements have been described in some detail in order to show that Sir James was working hard behind the scenes in attempting to remove initial difficulties and to promote a coalescence of forces, the essential preliminaries of successful legislation. He also contemplated entering Parliament at this time, chiefly to promote the educational legislation which was in preparation, and his correspondence with at least three constituencies, Hull, Bury, and Macclesfield, reveals him as a politician of independence whose conditions of candidature were almost too rigid to secure his adoption in any town, save where an election could be conducted and won by intelligence alone. From the Bury correspondence may be selected a statement of his views. After describing his early work in sanitary reform and his later efforts for education, he describes the need for a more elaborate measure, including rate-aid for schools and the safeguarding of all rights of conscience.

"The establishment of this system was the object which I kept steadily in view during my last six years of administrative labour, and to which I am anxious to devote my attention in Parliament. But I regard a system of national education only as a means to the attainment of great national objects . . . which may be described under the comprehensive term of the Christian civilisation of the people . . . the enjoyment of complete

political freedom . . . a large and liberal extension of the suffrage, excluding no class of men who would not be bribed or coerced."¹

Retrenchment in public expenditure, self-government for the colonies, better legislation for Ireland, an aggressive commercial policy rather than an aggressive military or naval one, the complete triumph of free trade and of civil and religious freedom—these were the chief items of his programme.

Of more personal interest was his correspondence with Macclesfield, both for its origin and its termination. A large party there was endeavouring to secure the necessary parliamentary sanction to apply the Public Health Act to that borough, but the sitting Borough Members, one of whom was a large property-owner, had successfully defeated the attempt. The Macclesfield Working Men's Sanitary Committee, in July, 1851, invited Sir James's help, knowing his zeal for their cause, and he secured for them the support of many Members. Thereupon the Committee invited him to become a candidate for the borough, and he was much attracted by the appeal. It was a cause that enlisted his enthusiasm; it had originated in a praiseworthy desire of intelligent working men to work out their own salvation; it represented a genuine local impulse. He replied, however, that he was unwilling to enter into a full political statement, except "upon the invitation of such a body of the electors as would leave me no choice as to the course which my duty would require me to pursue." This was apparently not forthcoming.

In February, 1852, he was again in touch with various leaders at Macclesfield, in their renewed attempt to secure the application of the Public Health Act. One of them wrote offering influential local Conservative support, if he would contest the borough against the two obstructors of sanitary reform. In a guarded reply, he defined his principles, especially on social

¹ He was in favour of disfranchising those who showed inability to use the vote intelligently.

questions, and stipulated for a resolution that he "should be the sole candidate of all parties not connected with the sitting Members," adding other conditions, which presumably were not acceptable to election managers :

"The same feelings induce me to repeat to you that I could not consent to any expedients or practices in the management of the canvass or contest which would not bear the test of the severest scrutiny before a Committee of the House of Commons, and I should wish the Registration Committee to be distinctly aware that, if the success of their candidate is in any degree dependent on the expenditure of money in treating, in bribes, in the employment of agents in private canvassing, or in any other way condemned by the votes of Committees of the House, I would not consent to spend a shilling on such objects. My private friends in London regard my health as now so far restored that I might make some guarded political demonstrations during this spring, and they assure me that if I were to do so I might hope to have many opportunities afforded me of entering the House. They therefore strongly counsel me not to commit myself to any borough without the most positive evidence of my being supported by a majority of the constituency.

"As respects Macclesfield, if the whole of the members of the Registration Committee are not present at the proposed meeting this week, I think every member should be individually consulted—every member should read my letter—those not present at the meeting should in writing express their opinions, and only in case five-sixths of the members were heartily in my favour should I think it worth your while to attempt to get up a requisition from the electors in my favour. Without such a requisition signed by a very large proportion of the electors, and especially by a majority of the influential electors, I could not come forward as a candidate. Before you take so much trouble you had better reflect whether a candidate whose health is less delicate and who has fewer scruples would not suit Macclesfield better."

The relationship of a constituency to its prospective Member has hardly yet achieved such heights !

The accession of Lord Derby's Ministry, in 1852, was not favourable to the various education measures that were in preparation. When the Manchester and Salford Bill was brought forward it was ascertained that the Manchester Town Council opposed it on the ground that it was a local and not a national measure, and the Government, with considerable astuteness, referred both it and the National Association proposals to a Select Committee, which collected and published a large mass of evidence, and, with even more astuteness, avoided making any report. In the following year the Aberdeen Coalition came into power, with Lord John Russell as Leader of the House of Commons, and hope revived.

The publication in 1853 of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's volume on *Public Education* is a tribute to the interest that had been aroused. It is vigorous enough in its early chapters, but rather ponderous later, when the argument is complicated by statistics and burdened by calculations that have now lost their value. Its thesis is clear: it attempts to justify the policy of the Committee of Council against the exclusive demands of the "mediæval" party in the Church, to demonstrate the need for State aid in answer to the Voluntaryists' objection, and to show that rate aid is the most satisfactory new way of extension. Writing at a time when many indications pointed to a speedy settlement, he exults in the discomfiture of the malcontents: he shows that the extremists in the Church have aroused a formidable moderate party prepared to unite with the Dissenters in securing a national system, that the Voluntaryists have failed to capture the British and Foreign School Society and even prominent Congregationalist leaders, and that the Secularists have realised their difficulties and have offered to admit existing denominational schools to a participation in a public school rate. Two parties alone remain opposed to the general stream, "and these parties are at the opposite poles of religious polity." The work already done by the Committee of Council; the substitution of the pupil teacher system for the monitorial system, which

had "dragged into the mire of its own dishonour the public estimate of what was practicable or desirable in the education of the poor"; the stimulus of Battersea which had led, by 1853, to the establishment of forty training colleges; the progress already evident from the Minutes of 1846—these are claimed, and justly claimed, as proofs of growth whose success has been testified to not only by the school inspectors, but by an obviously changed attitude to education throughout the country. Yet they are to be regarded only as "preliminaries to that universal diffusion and general efficiency of elementary schools."

The remainder of the book, with the exception of the last chapter which is devoted to Scotland, consists of closely argued statistical proof of the necessity for a school rate. He begins by inquiring how much money would be required to bring all existing schools up to the standard of the Minutes of 1846, and estimates that the Church of England would have to spend more than two and a half million pounds on buildings, and make an additional annual outlay of a million and a half pounds. Other religious communions would have to raise their annual income from a quarter to half a million. And even this enormous sum would not provide education for all children.

This money might come from endowments, local subscriptions, collections and school pence, and these resources he examines in turn. Endowments might easily be made to carry their share of the increased burden, for "no funds . . . were ever worse administered," and he suggests a new Committee of the Privy Council to control them.¹ From subscriptions and collections he sees little hope of increased amounts, for although the Churches have shown their ability to raise large sums for a specific purpose, they have found it difficult to maintain their increased efforts over a period. The income from school pence might be increased, but there are periods of commercial depression, and there

¹ See Chapter X. p. 301, for his proposals with regard to educational endowments.

is the recurrent poverty of the worst paid workers which must be set against this possible increase, and these are burdens which must be borne collectively.

His case, therefore, for rate aid is established (Chapter VI.). Granted that the first responsibility and duty must lie with the parent; that, when he fails, Christian sympathy may step in and help to lift the burden; it is still obvious that the State has a bounden duty to perform when these other provisions fail. The facts show that the two first agencies are unable to face the task alone. It is true that the State cannot do some things as well as voluntary agencies; but, on the other hand, it can do some better: it can protect civil rights, it can protect the conscientious scruples of a minority, it can advance the claims of special features like industrial art and the science of manufactures. There are bounds beyond which the State must not go: it must not diminish or discourage individual enterprise, it must not abolish school fees for those who can pay, or subscriptions from those who can give. He gives in outline, therefore, the principles of a Borough School Act which would neither establish new schools nor interfere with the ownership, government, or management of existing schools, except to enable trustees to receive the children of other communions with full rights of conscience. The Borough School Committee would distribute the rate and protect the civil rights of minorities, and rate aid would be limited to twopence per week for each child, provided that threepence per week was obtained from endowments, subscriptions, and school pence. The latter must be at least one penny per week, and if it amounted to more than fourpence the school would not receive any aid from the rates. By this plan he estimates that the schools in the industrial towns would have their incomes raised to twenty shillings per scholar annually (48 weeks at fivepence per week), and would be able to satisfy the conditions required by the Minutes of 1846, thus ensuring a further augmentation of twelve shillings per annum for each scholar.

A final chapter, as stated above, is devoted to Scotland, and there he traces the development of the parochial schools, and reviews Lord Melgund's and the Free Church proposals, outlining the case for a common school. His final words reaffirm, in lugubrious terms, the eventual consequences of neglecting the provision of a national system :

"The reign of ignorance, brutish habits, crime, and heathenism may be indefinitely prolonged. This cloud may brood with the gleam of hell over the destinies of a heroic race, nor can any human prescience foretell what may be the catastrophe when its dark womb struggles with the throes of a new birth amidst the lightnings of social convulsion. If the monarchy and the representative system of Great Britain are to perish, it will not be from any conspiracy of the nobles. Magna Charta and the Revolution settlement secured and limited their influence in the Constitution. Nor will it arise from the rebellion of the middle classes, who acquired their due share of political power by the Reform Bill. But the dominion of an ignorant and demoralised democracy is scarcely more fatal than the growth of popular discontent—the inevitable consequence of the waste of national resources by a people who multiply without forethought; purchase misery by improvidence; and exchange the frenzy of inebriety for the madness of political fanaticism. The sure road to socialism is by a prolongation of the contrasts between luxury and destitution; vast accumulations and ill-rewarded toil; high cultivation and barbarism; the enjoyment of political privileges and the exclusion from all rights by ignorance or indigence. The means of solving these great social problems lies in the Christian civilisation of the entire people by the Public School."

The session of 1853 did not produce the much-desired measure. The Manchester and Salford Bill and the National Public School Association Bill were introduced early, and were re-submitted to a Committee, which again collected evidence but avoided the embarrassment of a report. In April, Lord John Russell introduced his Borough Bill, which was based on Sir James's suggestions, and drafted with the aid of his

criticism.¹ It provided for a permissive rate in incorporated towns in support of existing schools; but a lukewarm Government did not offer sufficient support, and the Bill was withdrawn. Meanwhile, Sir James had persuaded the Committee of Council to offer rural schools a capitation grant, varying with certain conditions, and averaging four shillings and sixpence per scholar annually, to balance the anticipated rate aid for town schools, and this was made effective by the Minute of April 2. This grant introduced a new principle, as the award was not conditioned by local effort, and its author meant it to be limited strictly to rural schools, but in 1856 it was extended to all schools.²

The Government was little more favourable to a Scotch Bill, and the position of the Duke of Argyll in the cabinet (Lord Privy Seal) seems to have hampered its prospects. Lord John Russell wrote to Sir James approving the proposal to establish common schools in Scotland, at the same time that the Duke of Argyll was writing to him in criticism of them. In May, Lord John asked him to defer his visit to the Continent, as his assistance would probably be required; but, in June, rumours from many sources gave colour to the fear that

¹ He attended a meeting of the Committee of Council on April 2, 1853, when the Bill was discussed.

² Sir James explained his proposal and condemned its extension at a meeting in Manchester in 1857: "Led by the discussions of the Manchester and Salford Committee he had suggested to the Government the first application of the capitation grant to the rural districts. The object of the grant was twofold—first, to aid the poor schools unable to fulfil the conditions required towards their pupil teachers; and, secondly, by increasing the annual resources of schools, to give a larger aid towards school-building, and afford a more certain prospect of having a larger proportion of the resources of the school provided by Government. The Government had stretched to the utmost limit that system of grant in the rural districts, and it was with alarm that he had heard last summer that the capitation grant had been extended to the large towns in England." (*Times*, Feb. 9, 1857.)

In some MS. notes he wrote: "A purely centralised administration, if it be not combined with local organisation which has its own sphere of action, might paralyse that local activity which is the life of our social organisation. . . . I have never thought that this capitation grant ought ultimately to be retained as a central charge. I have always thought that it ought to be converted into a local rate." The extension to the towns aroused the especial wrath of Mr. Baines (see *Times*, April 24, 1856).

the Government would introduce only a temporary measure for Scotland to maintain the threatened salaries of the schoolmasters. Sir James stuck tenaciously to the Duke of Argyll, offered to draw up a bill and gained his reluctant consent, as well as his confession that he was not enthusiastic about a common school. The Established Church in Scotland also began to oppose the idea of a Government measure, and Scotland rang, in the autumn of 1853, with the old cries. The *Scotsman* supported a secular solution, the *Scottish Guardian* contended for Church supremacy, the *Scottish Press* pleaded for a common school. And when at last, in March, 1854, the Lord Advocate introduced his Bill, it was found that the path of least resistance had been followed, and a confessedly temporary measure was put forward. It was the first of a long series of Scottish Bills which troubled the House of Commons throughout the 'fifties, the object of which was to abolish religious tests and to open the parish schools to teachers other than members of the Established Church, an aim not achieved till 1861.¹

In 1854 the Manchester and Salford Bill was defeated on Mr. Milner Gibson's amendment, "That education, to be supported by public rates, should not at present be dealt with by any private Bill." Two speeches at Burnley early in that year² show that Sir James still hoped for unity between the National Association and the Manchester and Salford Committee. His second speech made use of the important tables drawn from the census of 1851 by Mr. Horace Mann in his *Report on Education in Great Britain* (1854), a pamphlet which revealed the educational destitution of the country, and attributed a large part of the non-attendance of children at school to the demand for juvenile labour. The pamphlet was the source of many suggestions for making education more

¹ Sir James was in constant communication with Scotch leaders throughout this period, and in 1861 the Convener of the Free Church Education Committee wrote to him: "I am more than ever persuaded that unless you can prepare for us the basis of a suitable national system, no one else need attempt it."

² *Manchester Guardian*, January 28, and March 8. *Times*, March 8.

efficient, two of which may be noticed here because of their influence, in turn, on Sir James's own proposals. One was that employers of labour should give preference to youths who had gained school certificates, and reserve their higher posts to candidates selected by further examination.¹ The second was that the half-time system should be extended to all employments, and that an annual examination should be held, on the results of which junior appointments in departments of the public service would be made.²

In 1855, notwithstanding the Crimean War, five education bills were brought forward in the House of Commons (including two for Scotland), and it is hardly surprising that all were withdrawn. The same year saw the dissolution of the Manchester and Salford Committee, and the end of a promising local movement whose success had been largely jeopardised by early mistakes. Its permanent value lies in its consolidation of the moderate men of all parties, and a large number of pamphlets in that year breathe a note of toleration which was due in some measure to its labours.³

In the deadlock Sir James turned for a time to other matters. In January, 1854, at the opening of the Padiham Trade School, he showed his interest in higher education by explaining the purpose of the new venture. The institution was intended to cover a longer period and embrace a wider curriculum than the elementary school, with its imperfections and limitations, could do. Based upon a study of language and literature, biography and history, it was also to reach out, through a study of geography and mathematics, mechanics and science, to commercial and industrial applications, thus providing an early example of schools intended for the higher education of the artisan class. With rare facility of illustration drawn

¹ See *The School and the Workshop*, by the Hon. and Rev. Grantham M. Yorke, Rural Dean of Birmingham.

² See the Rev. N. Stephenson's *Educational Condition and Educational Requirements of Birmingham*, a reply to the Rural Dean's pamphlet.

³ See the Rev. H. P. Hamilton's *The Church and the Education Question*, and the Rev. J. C. Miller's *Which? or Neither*, etc.

from the industrial conditions of the Lancashire towns and from the agricultural developments going on about them, he showed the need for a knowledge of applied science, for the development of industrial art, and for an understanding of the principles of political economy, the latter in order to combat the delusions underlying the regulations of the trade unions, which would, he alleged, reduce all workers to a level and so create "a paradise for fools and laggards." The antidote, he pleaded, lay in the establishment of "harmonising relations" between employers and employees. "A master who ceases to think that his workmen are a part of his machinery . . . will have solved the mystery of trade unions." It is a modern criticism.

The same attitude is obvious in his proposal in the following year to found a Padiham Trades' Hall and Mechanics' Institution on a basis of self-help: five hundred shares were to be taken up by artisans, a thousand by shopkeepers and employers, the remainder by farmers and property owners. Provision was to be made for evening classes, a library and newsroom, discussion classes, a farmers' club, and for public baths. A large coffee-room was to provide cheap refreshments and to give facilities for smoking and the reading aloud of newspapers at stated times.

The defeat of Lord John Russell's Resolutions on Education in the House of Commons in 1856 showed a continued hesitancy about legislating, but an administrative change of importance was made by the establishment of the Education Department, with a Vice-President who was to be a member of the House of Commons—a change which removed the reproach of Sir James, eight years earlier, that the directive head of the Education Office had no defined responsibility and no scope.

Sir James's activities in 1856 were varied. An address to one of the Manchester Schools of Medicine, on "Medical and Middle Class Education," was a plea for the development of higher education, and a proposal that the medical schools and the recently

established Owens College should be united. It ends with a characteristic sketch of the medical man's duty in the world as "the pioneer of civilisation." At the Royal North Lancashire Agricultural Society's Annual Meeting in August, and at the Padiham Agricultural Association's Meeting in September, he spoke at length on scientific developments in agriculture, and the rapid changes that applied chemistry was bringing. In the same month he was one of the chief speakers at the opening of the Oldham Lyceum,¹ where he struck a new note by emphasising the importance of providing the means of education during the years of adolescence, supporting his plea by reference to the failure of mechanics' institutes, which had not performed their proper function owing to the rudimentary knowledge possessed by the members. He suggested, therefore, the provision of organised evening schools in each village, staffed by itinerant masters from a central school.

This speech was the prelude to an interesting and important experiment in his own locality. Ten institutions in the neighbourhood of Burnley were grouped, in the "East Lancashire Union of Mechanics' Institutions," for the purpose of making more efficient their educational classes, and Sir James was the author, and for some years the chief motive force, of the Union's activities. Evening schools there were before this, of course, but they were often inefficient and unskilfully taught, and depended (as he informed the Committee of Council) on

"teachers exhausted by six hours of instruction in day schools, on the voluntary exertions of ministers of religion and other professional gentlemen, or on the aid of men with very humble qualifications, who receive from one to two shillings per night only for such services."²

¹ The meeting was fully reported in the daily Press, but of more interest was the account given of his speech in the *American Journal of Education* in March of the following year.

² The conditions governing the award of grants to evening schools, during the 'fifties, did not allow a certificated teacher, who had charge of pupil teachers, to teach in the afternoons of those days when the evening

Sir James was anxious to preserve this voluntary amateur work, and, by organisation and help, to illuminate and reform it.

He chose, therefore, a small area of ten towns and villages within easy reach of Burnley; their evening schools were still to be taught in the elementary classes by local aid; but itinerant "organising masters" were to visit them, in order to supervise this elementary teaching and to give advanced courses of lectures to the students who could profit by them. He sought the aid of the Education Department in various ways: he applied for and secured the recognition of the Union as a "body of managers" with an official correspondent; he secured for the itinerant masters the same augmentation grants and privileges, under the Minutes of 1846, as if they were employed in recognised elementary schools; and he was also successful in obtaining a grant of £10 for each "local teacher" who satisfied the inspectors and who might be "employed otherwise in the daytime." The Education Department, and especially Mr. Lingen, regarded the experiment with some doubt, for the latter had already found the detailed relationship of his Department to every parish in England a burdensome complexity, and he was inclined to veto the setting up of evening school committees. But Sir James, by persistency, gained the consent of the Department, and was able, through their financial support, to appoint two excellent trained masters for the work, and pay them a good salary.¹

The first annual prize giving, in 1857, was attended by Bishop Prince Lee of Manchester, Sir J. Pakington, M.P., and the Right Hon. W. Cowper, M.P. (first Vice-President of the Education Department). The first winter's work had demonstrated "that a fair proportion of the working men of this country can subdue inferior tendencies, and submit to the restraints imposed by evening study."² At this meeting a resolution was

school was open. For this reason, as well as from historical causes, a large majority of evening school teachers were not certificated masters.

¹ See p. 328.

² *Manchester Guardian*, November 6, 1857.

carried, after a speech by Sir James, affirming the desirability of nominating the successful students of evening classes "to compete for offices in the excise, customs, inland revenue, post-office, and other departments, irrespective of selection by means of parliamentary patronage." It had been the intention of the Committee of Council in 1846 to open inferior public appointments to pupil teachers who did not secure admission into a training college. This plan was abandoned in 1853, but had been urged in various quarters¹ as an easy means of making education more popular, and Sir James was in communication, during 1857, with Mr. Horace Mann on the subject. A pamphlet published by the latter in the same year² estimated that seven or eight hundred appointments, worth from £50 to £90 per annum, were made each year in the civil service, and could be used as prizes "to make education appear to very many parents as a better speculation than ignorance," and as a "stimulus to self-improvement in the period immediately subsequent to the school age." The competitive system had been applied to the higher posts in 1853 with good results.³

The first Report of the Union appeared in 1858, and was written by Sir James. Basing his argument on the meagre and transient effects of the day schools, where infrequent attendance and early withdrawal failed to produce much lasting benefit, he argues eloquently for the "progressive education of the youth of the district from 13 to 30." Although the Union was concerned largely with class teaching and examinations, the Report shows that his scheme had that width of conception which was behind all his plans.

¹ See p. 248.

² *Civil Service Competitions considered as a Means of promoting Popular Education.*

³ *Vide* Mr. Edwin Chadwick at the British Association (Section F), Dublin Meeting, 1857. This idea of stimulating elementary education by public reward appears frequently in the literature of the time. It was advocated also at a three days' conference of the Friends of the Education of the Working Classes, June, 1857, at which Sir James was chairman of the section which considered expedients to raise the school-leaving age.

“Let us hope,” he wrote, “that the cultivation of cottage gardens, the cricket club, and the manly game of football, the swimming bath and gymnastic exercises, the chess club, the newsroom, the library, the evening classes and the lectures of the Institution will take the place of the coarse and absurd pastimes of the lowest part of the population.”

He spent much time during 1858 in promoting the success of the Union. An art master was appointed by his exertions in Burnley, and day and evening classes were inaugurated. He selected books and apparatus for the evening classes, widened the syllabus, set examination papers, and interviewed and corresponded with the Education Department and the Science and Art Department, with the same detailed care he had shown of old. The most interesting innovation in the syllabus was an examination for women in domestic economy, domestic hygiene, the management of children, and sick nursing. He also proposed to the Education Department a system of awarding grants on the results of the annual examinations; but, in the light of the subsequent controversy,¹ it is important to note that such grants were not to exceed one half of the income of the school, and that the examination was to be conducted by the Union itself, under the direction of the Government inspectors.

The Report of 1859 contains his review of the position :

“Nor can we hope that the system of 1846-7, even when fully developed and universally adopted, will soon yield a full harvest of good. Two or three generations of educated parents must succeed each other before the home education will thoroughly co-operate with the school training. Ere that time, it will probably be vain to expect that all children shall have the advantage of attendance on the Infant School, and continue at the Day School till thirteen years of age—that irregularities of attendance, not caused by sickness or other unavoidable circumstances, shall be at an end—that the migratory habits of the poorer classes, in themselves often

¹ Chapter IX. p. 263 *seq.*

signs of independence and enterprise, shall cease to interrupt the schooling of their children—that the child shall not be withdrawn to help at home, or to increase the weekly income of the family, without an absolute necessity.

“Until these results are attained, and until the school work is seconded by home lessons and examples, the Day School, even when taught by a thoroughly trained and devoted master, aided by skilful assistant and pupil teachers, and all the apparatus of well-ordered instruction, under the eye of a vigilant inspection, will be unable to secure to all its scholars the foundation of that sound but humble learning in reading, writing, arithmetic, the English language, history and geography, which, with the instruction provided by the religious communion, are the indispensable rudiments of the education of the citizen of a free country.”

A local pupil-teacher scheme was also put into force, prize-winners in the evening classes being invited to become candidate teachers, receiving in return a small salary and opportunity for further study. In twelve months the number of scholars in the institutions comprised in the Union had increased fifty per cent., and the average attendance had nearly doubled. Candidates for prizes had multiplied many times, and the standard of the examinations had been greatly raised.

In the Report he refers to the Minute of July 26, 1858, which favoured the development of evening schools in connection with recognised day schools, and criticises it as an “indefensible disregard of the self-sacrificing exertions of benevolent men.”

“There are probably in Great Britain 750 to 800 Mechanics’ Institutions, with from 120,000 to 130,000 members, and from 25,000 to 30,000 pupils in their evening classes. Of these, probably 300 Institutions exist in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, with from 45,000 to 50,000 members, and 20,000 pupils in their evening classes. These are results too important to be neglected in any general scheme for the improvement of secondary instruction. But, where these Institutions are most successful, their pupils do not exceed

one per cent. in the population, and the average is generally much below this rate."

He agreed with the establishment of evening schools in connection with day schools, but he believed also that the mechanics' institutions were better adapted to the work, inasmuch as they represented the efforts of the workers themselves to enjoy a fuller life. To ignore them was to ignore the vitalising purpose which had created them; the East Lancashire Union was an experiment "for the purpose of exploring the path in which progress may be most certainly made."

Sir James was endeavouring, in these efforts, to establish a principle for the continued education of youths and adults in an organised way, and his recognition of the importance of building upon the efforts already made by the workers themselves has received striking justification in the twentieth century. The history of continuation schools in England during the second half of the nineteenth century would have been, in all probability, a more striking narrative if the East Lancashire Union had found more imitators.¹

The further history of the efforts to establish a national system of education in the 'fifties can be told in a few words. Some members of the defunct Manchester and Salford Committee and of the still vigorous National Association met in conference in 1856, and the result was the publication, in April, of the *Marginal Notes of a Bill*, in which the erection of new free schools was abandoned, and provision made for the free nominations of poor children to existing schools. Expenses were to be met by a local rate administered by a local

¹ The Union had to fight against heavy odds. The £10 grant to local teachers and the augmentation grants for the salaries of the organising teachers were withdrawn by the Government in the early 'sixties. The spread of the examinations of the Science and Art Department, the Society of Arts, and other bodies reduced the numbers of the candidates, and the Cotton Famine crisis crippled the financial resources of the Union so that its activities had to be restricted. See *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, edited by Sir M. E. Sadler (Manchester University Press, 1907), chap. i.

committee. These conditions did not exclude the claims of the Manchester Secular School to rate aid—a concession that aroused the *odium theologicum* of Bishop Prince Lee, who saw in it “the finger of the power of darkness.”¹ In the autumn of the same year a conference was arranged by Cobden, and attended by Sir J. Pakington, a Churchman and former supporter of the Manchester and Salford scheme; and the result was the introduction of a Bill in the House of Commons in February, 1857, by such divergent sponsors as Sir J. Pakington, Mr. Cobden, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Headlam. It was based on the agreement they had reached: existing schools were to be admitted to rate aid, on condition that they charged a fee for all children except those of proved poverty, that they were open to inspection, employed qualified teachers, and allowed scholars to be withdrawn, at their parents’ request, from doctrinal instruction.

A public meeting was held at Manchester in support of the Bill on February 6, and there Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth expressed his gratification at the agreement which he had never believed impossible, and he repeated his declaration that, while he supported the political principle underlying the National Association’s proposals, he had favoured the alternative scheme because it was built on the plan which experience had already shown to be of value.

Cobden’s vote of censure on the Government, carried on March 3, resulted in a dissolution, and in the ensuing elections he and his friends suffered heavy defeats. The Indian Mutiny soon occupied public attention and education had no chance. In 1858, on the proposal of Sir J. Pakington, a Royal Commission was set up to inquire into “the state of popular education in England, and as to the measures required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people.” As the report did not appear till 1861, the House of Commons obtained what must have seemed to them a gracious respite from a troublesome

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, April 30, 1856.

question. They had, as a body, shown little eagerness for a settlement, and had been picturesquely described by one pamphleteer as "the great cemetery for the interment of defunct Education Bills."¹

Yet the decade, in spite of its barrenness, had served its purpose: it had demonstrated, especially in the large towns, the imperative need for further educational means; it had popularised the idea of rate aid and a popularly elected managing committee; it had ascertained that the secular solution was unacceptable to large masses of the community; and it had revealed a decreasing sympathy with the Voluntaryists who rejected State aid, and with the High Church party who opposed popular control. In this victory of moderate men over the extremists Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth played an important part, and, although much that he did during the 'fifties is not here recorded, enough has been written to indicate its range and nature. He addressed many meetings on various topics, and gave his assistance to causes that are long since forgotten. A good deal of this work was local; some of it was the result of former controversies (as witness his address in 1859 at the annual meeting in support of Wesleyan day schools); all of it was inspired by devotion to the cause of educational progress and of social health.

¹ Rev. Francis Close, *A Few More Words on Education Bills*, 1856.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVISED CODE CONTROVERSY : THE SETTLEMENT OF 1870

IN the educational exhaustion that fell upon the various political groups at the end of the 'fifties Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth turned for employment to a new field, and in 1860 published, anonymously, a three-volume novel called *Scarsdale*. It is a work of considerable merit, but with curious defects: if its heavy and unwieldy plot could be lightened; if its long and frequently dull discussions on the philosophy of social reform could be cut out; if its lifeless aristocrats could be turned adrift, then the remaining material, brought together in smaller compass and with natural sequence, would provide a novel of intense interest both as drama and history. For it is a story of the East Lancashire that he knew so intimately in an important period, and contains vividly written descriptions of the loom-breakers and of the self-made manufacturers, as well as illuminating and convincing accounts of old superstitions and old customs. All these owe much to his first-hand knowledge of and deep interest in Lancashire topography, character, and dialect. The novel received eulogistic reviews, even as "a valuable contribution to thought on the great problems of social science," and, although some critics found serious fault in its construction, the Lancashire Press generally recognised its many qualities.

But Sir James's interests were soon to be re-absorbed in the problem of national education. The Newcastle Commission, appointed in 1858, found its task great

enough to occupy it for three years, and it was not until 1861 that its report was published. Meanwhile Mr. Robert Lowe had been appointed Vice-President of the Education Department, and in his annual statements to the House of Commons had expressed his unwillingness to introduce any change until the Commissioners reported, but had accepted with enthusiasm the criticism of the economists of the time that the growing cost of education must be checked.

The Commissioners and their assistants did their work with thoroughness, but both their methods of inquiry and their conclusions were soon called in question in the resulting controversy. It seems strange that Sir James, with his knowledge of the first ten years of the Committee of Council, and his offer to Earl Granville in 1858 to assist him in any acceptable way, should not have been made a member of the Commission. The omission was a large cause of the mischief that was done, for it is evident from Sir James's answers, when twice called to give evidence, that he discerned and was uneasy at the drift of affairs. He emphasised the difference between means and ends :

"The conception [of the Minutes of 1846] was, that it would be a good method of distributing public money to pay for the means of education, rather than to attempt any method of payment which should be determined by results. The principle adopted was that, good means being adopted and well superintended, the results would be sure."¹

And he correctly prophesied the evil results of substituting an individual examination of scholars for general inspection :

"The tendency of such a system would be this, instead of examining the general moral relations of the school and all the phenomena which meet the eye, the attention of the inspector would be concentrated necessarily upon some two or three elements of education. I think that it would be quite impossible for him by examining those three elements of education to test the condition of a school."²

¹ Q. 2348.

² Q. 2450.

His evidence was chiefly an attempt to show that true advance in a system of national education must come by the inductive method: that to lay down arbitrary principles on theoretical grounds was to court failure in so complex a problem, and that quick results were the last thing to expect. Again and again he reminded them that the "inductive process" alone could save them alike from wild innovation and from stagnation:

"My own strong feeling is that one of the greatest mistakes which could be committed would be either to overthrow what is now proceeding tentatively, and to substitute in its place some system upon theory, or to suppose absolutely and positively that this system is final."¹

The Report of the Commissioners has been much praised, perhaps because it was so bulky, for it lacks both vision and consistency, and is marred by a social prejudice out of keeping with its time. Its logic is anything but clear; for, while it draws a lurid picture of the private teachers as "keepers of small eating houses, of mangles, or of small lodging houses," and praises the certificated teachers as "altogether a superior class to those who preceded them," it bases upon these two clear facts two amazing conclusions: it proposed to help private teachers with Government grants, and it indicted the certificated teachers, on confessedly conflicting evidence, for neglecting "both the more elementary subjects and the younger scholars." This is bad enough as argument; the conceptions of education behind it are equally deplorable: the private adventure schools were to be helped because they had proved "popular"; the elements were to be taught to scholars as early as possible because, for the majority of them, schooling ceased at the age of ten and the Commissioners had decided that the leaving age was not likely to be extended.

On the whole, the Report confirmed the value of the principles that had underlain Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's proposals: inspected schools were proved to

¹ Q. 2404.

be superior to private schools, trained teachers were more efficient than untrained, and pupil teachers were better than monitors.¹ No large district was entirely destitute of schools, and the vast majority of available children were in attendance there at some period. Satisfied with a low standard of education, the Commissioners found that neither "very gloomy views" were warranted, nor "extreme measures" called for. They fastened their attention on two evils only, irregular attendance and the alleged faulty teaching of the younger scholars; and, to combat these, they recommended that State grants should be paid according to attendance, staffing, and general efficiency, and that, in addition, a local grant should be provided from the rates and distributed according to the number of children who could pass a yearly examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic.²

During the inquiry, Mr. Lingen and other officers of the Education Department had laid much stress upon the complications that had grown up under the Minutes of 1846. They were in communication with every inspected school; they paid augmentation grants to every certificated teacher by separate money order; they paid the salary of every pupil teacher; they made grants for apparatus and books; and the labour was such that the system "threatened to break down at the centre." This complaint had its due influence upon the Commissioners, whose proposals were intended to simplify the mode of making grants by reducing State aid to a simple calculation on attendance and the report of the inspectors.

Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was one of the first to criticise the Report. In his *Letter to Earl Granville* of April 24, 1861, he showed that the proposal to raise a local rate had been found impossible because the

¹ Sir James was particularly pleased with the repeated testimony offered in the Report to the value and efficiency of the pupil teachers. See *Newcastle Commission Report*, vol. i. pp. 102, 103, 107, 166-7, etc.

² It is only fair to the Commissioners to add that this examination of "the more mechanical work" was not intended to lessen the emphasis which the school placed upon the aim of training the scholar's character.

corporations were unwilling to provide money unless they secured the control of the schools. Yet the Commissioners' plan would mean an immediate burden of £428,000 annually on the rates, and those who collected the money would acquire no other administrative function "than the appointment of examiners . . . who are to register how many children can read, write, and cipher in each school." Nor would the proposal produce the simplification that the "slender staff" at the Council Office had appealed for: rather would more agents be required throughout the country, with a consequent increase in the cost of administration. He regarded the proposed rate aid, based on examination, as educationally unsound: it would promote private adventure schools "with the certainty of keeping the instruction limited to its lowest elements, without any moral redeeming qualities, and without any religious instruction." And in the parochial schools the grant would be

"a strong motive to limit the instruction more and more to the three elementary subjects. . . . The largest amount of the capitation grant can be obtained by sacrificing the moral and religious instruction, the intellectual training and general information, and restricting the instruction to a mechanical drill in the reading, writing, and arithmetic."

He condemned the proposal to assess grants by individual examination in an argument that ought to have been conclusive. After showing that less than thirty-six per cent. of the scholars had been in one school for two years or more, and that these scholars alone manifest the "results" of the work of that school, he says: [The Commissioners']

"proposal is to pay a capitation grant on every scholar who has attended 140 days in the preceding year, and can read, write, and cipher. A scholar cannot learn to read, write, and cipher so as to pass a public examination in two years, much less in 140 days. Any examination of the majority . . . who attend less than two years must, therefore, obviously fail to ascertain how far even these elements have been taught to that

majority in any school. . . . If any grant could be devised, founded on the results of the school work, it must be proportionate only to the proficiency of this two-fifths of the scholars. But the working of any such grant was long ago examined, and rejected as full of difficulties which appeared insuperable."¹

But the Government ignored the warning, and Mr Robert Lowe, whose mind worked in generalisations, seized upon the alleged inefficiency of the younger scholars as the outstanding conclusion of the Report, and upon individual examination as the only mode of removing the defect. What the Commissioners had recommended as a stimulus, Lowe adopted as a ruling principle governing the award of all school grants. He announced his intentions in outline to the House of Commons on July 11, 1861. In a vigorous speech he claimed that his proposal would leave the prevailing system intact, but that a single and easily calculated payment would be substituted for a complicated and burdensome one, and that inefficiency would be starved out. "Hitherto," he cried exultingly, in the tones of his commercial age, "we have been living under a system of bounties and protection, now we propose to have a little free trade."

The Minute explaining "A Revised Code of Regulations" was dated July 20, and was presented to the House on the last day of the session. It proposed to sweep away grants for school books and maps, grants for scientific apparatus, teachers' augmentation grants, pupil teachers' stipends, scholars' capitation grants, teachers' pensions, and certain payments to the training colleges. In their place it offered one penny per scholar for every attendance after the first hundred, a third of which sum was to be withheld for failure in each of the three subjects, reading, writing, and arithmetic. For the purposes of examination the scholars were to be presented in four groups, the first consisting of infants

¹ It had been suggested that the capitation grant of 1853 should be based on examination, as it was the first grant not based on corresponding voluntary efforts.

from three to seven, and the last of scholars eleven years old and upwards, but no scholar could be presented more than once in this fourth group. Even such hard-earned money could be withheld in whole or in part if the building and the staff were inadequate, or if "faults of instruction or discipline" were discovered. The grants were to be paid to the managers, who could make their own terms with the teachers.

To Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth the Revised Code meant the undoing of his work. None knew better than he how much wooing had been required to arouse local effort, how difficult it had been to raise the standard of teaching, how delicate a matter to make inspection a friendly stimulus. None had emphasised more than he the civilising effects of the school on the community, the necessity for highly trained teachers, and those unseen and unmeasurable "results" which a qualified teacher could produce in human lives. He had regarded the "three R's" as important instruments, but never as ends; and, although he had been wedded to no fixed syllabus, he had shown, both by precept and example, the importance of literature, of singing, of geography, of history, of manual occupations and of simple political economy in the lives of the workers. His conception of the social nature of education, and his perception of teaching as a skilled craft were alike outraged by the crude philosophy of "payment by results," a tool as useless in education as a pickaxe in copper-plate engraving. Not the least disturbing aspect of the new proposals was the threat to starve out the pupil teacher system by withdrawing all special financial aid, thus threatening to interfere with the whole plan of educating and training a body of teachers, in spite of the clear testimony of the Commissioners to the value of the Government scheme.

Sir James knew the forces against him. The strength of the case for change lay in the demand for economy, for the rapid increase in the education grants during the 'fifties had frightened both political parties.¹ Lowe had

¹ In a paper on Public Education, printed in the *Transactions* of the

the advantage of his critics in this respect. Behind him were the permanent officials, and Lingen had shown his desire to get rid of the 1846 system because of the excessively detailed work it threw on his staff. Indeed, Lingen was the real author of the details of the Revised Code, and a letter from one of his assistants shows clearly how it was devised:

"I think it certain that neither Lord Granville nor Lowe was aware of the amount of change contemplated, or of the opposition likely to be called up—although I cannot help feeling, for myself, that with ordinary pains they might have ascertained that what Lingen chose to represent to them as a mere change of details compromised the existence of almost all the good in the existing scheme. I think Lord Granville was neutral: but I am told that Lowe required whatever is meant by 'payment by results' to be introduced—as good perhaps *per se*, at any rate as required by the country. Beyond this I do not apprehend he is individually interested in the new Code. I take it, therefore, that the best chance of success for the opponents is to embody this principle in some degree, as it will probably be found that the Council office will not yield on this point, and will be backed up by the country on it. I may add that, before the new Code was hatched, Lord Granville asked me to review the Commissioners' Report and draw up a scheme. In this, to meet the 'result' idea, which is one to tell with the nation, I proposed that the thorough examination of each school in the three fundamentals should be held not less often than once in three years: that the schools should be rated as A, B, or C in regard to the result, and the capitation grant only paid in accordance . . . "

There were others who suspected that the new Code was designed to suit the convenience of the permanent officials: "How far is your friend Lingen at the bottom of this?" wrote Dean Close in September. "He is a secularist, and he said 'the present system worked too well.'"

National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (1860), Sir James calculated that an efficient system of education would cost £3,000,000 annually, and that the Government grants would have to be increased from £800,000 to £1,200,000 to secure this sum.

The controversy soon spread. In July, the *Edinburgh Review*, in an attack on trained teachers, declared that

"the whole system of popular instruction has been *pitched too high*. . . . The teacher must not be too far removed from his scholars; and there was this of good in the old monitorial system of Joseph Lancaster, that the drudgery of teaching spelling, for example, was not thrown upon those who are too accomplished to perform it."

This retrograde note was followed in the September number of the *English Churchman* by a return to the eighteenth-century argument that the children of the labouring class should be taught only those subjects "which really befit their station." *Blackwood's Magazine* also published an article, in January, 1862, in support of the new Code. But the prevailing note throughout the country was consternation and alarm, and Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth bent all his energies to the contest. To him, so far as national elementary education was concerned, it was to be

"One fight more,
The best and the last,"

and although little modification was secured in the proposals, and although his view of education was lost, to a great extent, for a generation, the vigour of his onslaught was a fitting sequel to his thirty years' labours for a humane and liberal education for every child.

It is impossible even to summarise the newspaper articles and pamphlets which appeared in the autumn and winter of 1861-2 against the Revised Code, or to record the meetings and memorials that were arranged in protest. He who is curious may read the daily Press of that time and note the almost complete unanimity of condemnation. Papers of all kinds, secular and religious, Liberal and Tory, united in their attacks, and a crowd of correspondents, clerical and lay, school managers and teachers, wrote letters to the editors. The arguments were varied: the religious papers were alarmed for the position of religious instruction, the Tory papers attacked

the Government, the Liberal papers attacked the officials. The *Record*, the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Advertiser*, the *Star and Dial*, the *Morning Herald*, the *Critic*—there is no end to the list of those which returned to the attack almost every day. The *Daily News* was at first cautious, but later supported the Revised Code because of its supposed application of the principles of free trade; the *Times*, at the outset, was strangely silent; but when Mr. Lowe returned from his continental holiday it attacked the attackers with sarcastic jibe and cynical sneer which the *Record* bluntly declared came from no other place than the Council Office itself.¹ Schoolmasters held meetings all over the country, and training college officials met in conferences, and the *Times* explained their indignation as due to “pecuniary interest.” Perhaps it was so in some measure, and the *Guardian*, in an able denunciation of “payment by results” on educational grounds, also deplored “the panic of the schoolmasters.”² It served its purpose, however, and on September 26 the *Times* announced that the application of the new Minute was postponed till after March, 1862.

In this agitation Sir James had played a vigorous part, especially keeping in touch with and advising the authorities of training colleges and education societies, all of whom made united or individual protests. Petitions poured into the House of Commons and pamphlets multiplied outside. The latter were so numerous that they have escaped subsequent notice, yet those by

¹ Lowe had been a leader writer for the *Times* since his return from Australia in 1850, and the articles in defence of the Revised Code contain all the characteristics of his style.

² That the schoolmasters had a serious grievance is shown by the Returns published by the Central Committee of Schoolmasters in 1862, concerning the work done by the Assistant Commissioners in their selected districts. They investigated 220 schools and found that of these 87 were not visited, and 162 were not examined. They assert that the lowest classes were seldom examined, and explain thence the misleading charge of the Commissioners that teachers neglected the youngest scholars. “If the conclusions of the Royal Commissioners are worth anything, they do not derive their value from the examination of inspected schools by the Assistant Commissioners.”

the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, of St. Mark's College (in the form of a letter to the Right Hon. Sir John Coleridge, one of the Commissioners who had denounced the Revised Code as foreign to the Commissioners' intentions), by the Rev. C. H. Bromby of Cheltenham, and in 1862 by Professor Grote, the Rev. F. J. A. Hort, the Rev. T. R. Birks, and the Rev. J. Menet, are written with force and ability.¹ They are, however, a small number only of the total which appeared "not in single files, but in battalions." Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's *Letter to Earl Granville*,² is dated November 4, 1861, and is the longest and most complete of them all. Its circulation exceeded ten thousand copies, and his name added significance to the attack on Lowe's proposals. It is vigorously written and closely argued, and its chief merit lies in its exposition of education as a socialising, Christianising force whose worth is not to be measured by proficiency in the three R's. It is rich in illustrations of the difficulties of the schools :

"National education does not depend simply on the school training of one generation. The first generation of children in school inherit some physical incapacity to learn. Their instruction is hindered by the late age at which they enter, the extreme irregularity with which they are sent to school, and the early age at which they are withdrawn. They have no help at home from semi-barbarous parents; but, on the contrary, much hindrance from bad example, rude household management, capricious and often harsh treatment, and the incapacity of the parents to understand the value of school training. The influence of the school is not fully felt, even in the humblest technical acquirements of the children, until the parents have been themselves trained and instructed in day and evening schools, and civilised by other influences."

He shows his understanding of all the complicated

¹ Among pamphlets written in support of the proposals may be mentioned those of the Rev. J. Fraser (afterwards Bishop of Manchester), the Rev. W. L. Collins, and Dr. Vaughan (formerly Headmaster of Harrow). Their chief defect is that they do not realise the problem in human terms.

² Reprinted in *Four Periods of Education*.

problems which schools must consider: the impoverished rural districts, the children of the cotton and woollen operatives in the North, the vagrant London street arabs. Of the second class he writes:

"I have had experience, during nearly twenty years, of large schools through which, until lately, has floated a constant supply of an immigrant semi-savage population, bred on the moors of the Pennine Chain. While this immigration of an uncivilised, transient population continued, and the teachers had also the additional burden of the half-time factory system, a staff of most skilful trained teachers, working with exemplary industry, failed to produce any results in the schools which would bear the application of the Commissioners' test."

He explains his own suggestion of 1853 that the capitation grant (see p. 246) should depend upon progress in the three R's—a proposal which took into account such essential factors as previous schooling, regularity of attendance, and age, and did not entail the examination of every scholar, but only of a selected group, upon whose performance the inspector could recommend the payment of one-third, two-thirds, or the whole of the capitation grant. Its purpose was to stimulate the careful teaching of the rudiments, without losing sight of other important matters.

To the argument that the Revised Code is an application of the principles of free trade he retorts justly:

"No fallacy is more transparent or more monstrous than that which assumes that knowledge, or whatever training is got in schools, is a natural want, certain to assert itself like the want of food, or clothing, or shelter, and to create a demand. The fact is the very reverse of this assumption. Otherwise an ignorant man's appetite for knowledge, a savage man's desire for civilisation, a heathen's thirst for revealed truth, ought to be in proportion to their destitution; whereas mental, moral, and religious destitution have no appetite—they have no desire—they make no demand. All statesmen who have wished to civilise and instruct a nation have to create this appetite."

Moreover, the Revised Code is not even an apparent

application of the principles of free trade, for the school managers are still to receive bounty and protection—but by a different channel.

The Revised Code, he declares, will give no credit to moral and religious influence, will mechanise teaching, and produce a lower order of teachers. It will bring about abrupt changes which will bear hard on those who have laboured for a system which has been established at great cost, and to which the State has contributed only one-third of the money expended.

“It ought not to be abruptly and harshly changed by the fiat of a Minister, without the consent of the great controlling bodies and communions who have expended twice as much as the State. Even were Parliament to make such a change it would be a national dishonour. It would be an act of repudiation ever to be remembered with shame.”

If the plea for economy is valid, the solution, he thinks, lies in the extension of voluntary effort, but the change must be made gradually. He calculates that, by raising the school pence three halfpence weekly, the State contribution could be decreased from one-third to one-quarter, and the education grant would then suffice to extend the present system to all schools. But against false economy he protests :

“To give the people a worse education from motives of short-sighted economy would be, in these respects, utterly inconsistent with all preceding national policy. The idea that an ignorant, brutish people is either more subordinate or more easily controlled than a people loyal by conviction and contented from experience and reason, is exploded. The notion that the mass of the people are the sources of national wealth merely as beasts of burden—that the nation has no interest in their intelligence, inventive capacity, morality, and fitness for the duties of freemen and citizens—is a doctrine which would find no advocates. No Chancellor of the Exchequer would dare to avow that their sensuality was a prolific source of revenue which he could not afford to check. Why, then, is education to be discouraged by regulations which cut off all aid to children under

seven and after eleven years of age? Why are the annual grants to be reduced two-fifths at a blow? Why are the stipends, training, and qualifications of schoolmasters to be lowered? Why is instruction in the school to be mainly concentrated on the three lower elements?"

The pamphlet was warmly praised by his friends. Lord Auckland, his supporter in Battersea days, wrote: "It is admirable. It ought to blow R. Lowe out of his *vice*-presidential seat." Sir J. Pakington wrote:

"You, of all living men, have the best right to be the champion of the existing Privy Council system—you may well be proud of all it has accomplished—and you may naturally be regarded as the fittest man to take the lead in resisting any attempt to diminish its efficiency and usefulness. I therefore congratulate you on the ability and success with which you have executed your task."

The Central Committee of Schoolmasters passed him a vote of thanks. But the Government regarded it with less favour. Gladstone was cautiously polite: "I shall read it with care, and I do not doubt with advantage." Lord Granville was unmoved:

"I have read, with the care which any opinion of yours deserves on subjects connected with education, your letter to myself. It has not, however, convinced me that we are wrong, or that your proposal is one which I could recommend to my colleagues for adoption."

The case against the Revised Code, it will be seen, was a complex one. Its principle was vicious, its tendency narrowing, its view of childhood wholly false. It threatened teachers with a loss of salary, it made the pupil teacher's career precarious, it threatened the existence of the training colleges, and offered no advantages to the well-trained teacher. It was rigid and harsh in method, it offered no inducement to neglected districts to start new schools, it increased the uncertainties of school managers. Wrong in principle, it was also grotesque in details, for it proposed to examine

infants of three by the same test as children of seven, its classification of scholars was by age alone, and it discouraged the retention of scholars after the age of eleven. It is unique as a piece of monumental folly.

Nor was it alone the cause of the indignation that swept through the country. The Education Department which, under the careful guidance of its first secretary, had not been regarded without suspicion, became, later, a positive weapon of offence, and was regarded by many parishes and schools as the chief enemy. The depth of this feeling may be gauged by a letter from one of the inspectors—a clergyman—to Sir James in 1862:

“The general treatment of the public, and the almost uniform treatment of the inspectors by the office, has been insolent, tyrannical, and unwise in the very highest degree. . . . I will confess to you that I feel my greatest hindrance to Christian feeling and progress, my greatest thorn in the flesh, to be the difficulty I have in satisfying myself that I am in perfect charity with one who has shown so much hostility and persevering malignity towards the body of inspectors. This is my thought, my difficulty, in saying the Lord’s Prayer and at the Eucharist. I believe that anger, moral indignation, is a necessary part of virtue; but when I know what the Education Department and the Education Question *might* have been, and when I know what they *are*, I am afraid my indignation is stronger than Christian anger. At times I burn to expose and punish.”

The parliamentary struggle came in 1862. Sir James expressed doubts, in a letter to the *Daily News*,¹ whether the Code had ever been deliberately discussed by the Committee of Council, and suggested a parliamentary inquiry into its origin, “for I have,” he wrote, “the strongest conviction that neither the Cabinet nor the Committee of Council on Education can be held to be responsible.” In February he introduced an influential deputation from education societies and training colleges to the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, who referred them to Mr. Lowe’s forthcoming announcements. On February 13, Earl Granville in the House

¹ January 20, 1862.

of Lords, and Mr. Lowe in the House of Commons, made their defence. The former replied directly to Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, and the inadequacy of his defence may be illustrated by a quotation :

"I have great regard and affection," he said, "for that gentleman, whose friendship I have enjoyed for some years, and upon that account I regret that, in his letter and speeches during the past autumn, he has departed from that judicial tone which his attainments, experience, and eminent services rendered to education fully entitle him to assume. If there is one point upon which I think Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth deserves more credit than another in his efforts in the cause of education, it is the sedulous care he has officially and unofficially bestowed upon every means of elevating the condition and improving the *status* of the certificated schoolmaster. He, deprecating our code as a whole, thinks we have behaved ill towards the schoolmasters and degraded their position. If anything that we proposed could have that effect I should deeply regret it; but if it is to be urged that schoolmasters, trained up in most cases at the expense of the public to teach the children of the poor, are to consider it as degrading to condescend to the drudgery of teaching reading, writing, and counting, then all I can say is that that seems such a reduction to absurdity that I cannot consent to argue it."

Which is no mean example of how a Cabinet Minister can evade the issue when he has nothing to reply.

Mr. Lowe was more aggressive, and enjoyed his usual triumph with a speech that occupies over fifty columns of Hansard. Its value may be indicated by one part of it: Sir James, in his *Letter to Earl Granville*, had argued that schools did much work of a civilising nature before they could produce any measurable results, and that those schools which were so situated as to require this preliminary labour would fare worst in the examination—an obvious fact and a valid argument. But Mr. Lowe, with more wit than reason, interpreted the statement as meaning that

"no one could be taught to read, write, or cipher unless

he were first taught morals and religion. If that dictum had been known to Diogenes he might have saved himself the trouble of lighting his lamp to find an honest man. He would only have had to catch the first man who could read, write, and cipher, and then he would have got him."

Of such stuff are official answers made, and by such arguments was the Revised Code justified. It was in this speech that the Vice-President coined his epigrammatic prophecy on the working of the Revised Code: "If it is not cheap it shall be efficient, if it is not efficient it shall be cheap." Having trounced his opponents he announced his concessions: Scotland was to be exempted, children under six were not to be presented for examination but were to earn a capitation grant on attendance alone, and the withdrawal of grants to the training colleges was temporarily suspended. But the general principle of payment by results was retained. The *Times* described the speech as "the first honest, careful, and philosophical account rendered to Parliament by the Committee of Council," to which the *Record* retorted that the author of the Revised Code had such influence with the *Times* "as thus to make it call black white." The contest was continued throughout March, and was superficially interpreted by the *Times* as meaning "that something uncomfortable is happening to some people who probably deserve it," and the education system was described as full of "helpers and hangers-on, assistants and underlings, perquisites and allowances and items of all kinds, kept up because they exist, while new ones are added for no other reason than that they do not yet exist."

An attempt in the House of Lords to secure further concessions, led by Bishop S. Wilberforce, was unsuccessful, and as late as March 15 Earl Granville refused to pay any grant on attendance. In the House of Commons a series of resolutions, moved by Mr. Walpole, led to a three days' debate, and, on March 28, Mr. Lowe promised that a portion of the grant should be paid on general inspection, and that grouping by age

should be abandoned. These modifications were defined in April: a grant of four shillings per scholar (six shillings and sixpence for infants) was to be paid on general merit, and for each pass in the three R's two shillings and eightpence was offered on condition that the scholar had made two hundred attendances. The four age-groups were changed to six standards, and no scholar could earn grants in any one standard more than once. Thus came the Revised Code, and turned the schools into a rough-and-tumble scramble for "results," causing them to invent various wrong modes of producing them (see pp. 286-288). Teachers had to earn the grant or be dismissed, and the scholars—the able and the unable, the precocious and the backward, the halt and the maimed, the intelligent and the stupid—had to pass the examination or suffer the terrors that could be aroused by overwrought teachers fighting for their livelihood amid the tears and suffering of newly-created child slaves.

The opposition was continued, though less vigorously. Sir James assisted the United Education Committee¹ in interviewing Earl Russell, in drawing up a memorandum² for Earl Granville on April 5, and in publishing, on April 23, a Minute embodying their objections to the Code in its final form. He was present in May at the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign School Society, where Earl Russell paid a tribute to his work for education. In June he attended the Annual Meeting of the National Society, and there opposed Mr. Walter's proposal that a school not taught by a certificated teacher should be eligible for grants, a proposal that had been made and defeated more than once in the House of Commons, and one which Lowe, to his credit, had refused to accept.

¹ This Committee comprised members and principal office-bearers of the National Society, the Church of England Education Society, the British and Foreign School Society, the Home and Colonial School Society, the Wesleyan Education Committee, some provincial education societies, principals of training colleges, and managers of schools.

² The memorandum offered, as a compromise, the co-operation of the Committee in reaching a workable agreement, with suggestions for making the incidence of the Revised Code less harsh and drastic.

But events moved rapidly, and Lowe reaped the fruits of his own high-handedness. In 1864 Lord Robert Cecil (afterwards the Marquis of Salisbury) charged him with mutilating the inspectors' reports, and carried a motion of censure which brought about Lowe's resignation. The censure sprang chiefly from the anger and suspicion which had grown up against the Education Office and Lingen's methods, whose "snubbing replies," said the *Saturday Review*, "have imprinted upon half the rural parishes in the country a deep conviction that the Education Department is their natural enemy."

The evil, however, was done, and the schools were tied in bonds from which they did not escape for thirty years, during which time traditions and habits were established whose effects are still visible. Lowe's crowded hour of official life produced results at which one section of mankind will never cease to wonder, and from Inspector Matthew Arnold¹ to Chief Inspector E. A. Holmes² the chorus of protest has been continuous and deservedly severe. So firmly was the idea implanted in the national mind that elementary education was nothing more than the "beggarly three R's," that even so well-informed a writer as Lord Bryce writes of schools in the 'sixties, with their impoverished curriculum, as though nothing better had preceded the years to which his own knowledge of elementary schools goes back.³ Yet in 1866, in an address to the East Lancashire Union,⁴ Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, summarising the earlier view which he had laboured to apply, showed clearly and justly the right place of the three R's and their limitations :

"The school will be successful in proportion as it develops [the people's] intelligence, their love of truth and their desire for knowledge. On this account the Committee of Council *avoided any act* which would

¹ *Minutes* of the Committee of Council from 1863 onwards, especially 1869.

² *What Is and What Might Be*, by E. A. Holmes.

³ *Modern Democracies*, by Lord Bryce, i. 80.

⁴ Reprinted in *Social Problems*, pp. 155 seq.

convey the impression that *elementary instruction should be limited to the rudiments*. . . . The three rudiments are the indispensable foundation of knowledge; but if the child, when at school, were only drilled in a mean, mechanical drudgery of spelling, writing, and ciphering, his faculties would be rather stunted than developed, and he would leave his taskmaster with a dislike for the harsh rule necessary to enforce a reluctant attention, and with a corresponding aversion to letters. . . . They had no desire that the elementary school should draw to it only those children whose parents would, from ignorance or apathy, be content with a merely mechanical power to read, write, and cipher, without *interest* in the use of this power, or intelligence to exert it." ¹

Nor was this any *a priori* statement; it was grounded on practical knowledge of the educative process, and had been strikingly demonstrated by the results of a remarkable experiment described by Inspector Moseley to show the evil of teaching children to read on an intensive plan.² It is popular now to speak of the overcrowded curriculum: the impoverished curriculum of the 'sixties was infinitely worse, for, apart altogether from the wrong methods adopted to produce "results," it ignored the fundamental laws of psychology. Lowe's rout at the Education Office, in 1864, was three years too late.

Sir James, reviewing the controversy in a later day,³ dwells upon the rapid fall in the number of pupil teachers and the deterioration in their quality. Between 1861 and 1866 they decreased from 16,277 to 10,971, and in 1865 and 1866 the training colleges had to lower their standard of admission, and still could not fill up the vacant places. He adds:

"These consequences were all foreseen and predicted in the letter of remonstrance which I addressed to Lord

¹ Lord John Russell, in his defence of the Government measures of 1839 (June 20, 1839), had pointed out the folly of mere ability to read, and had urged the importance of exciting the intelligence, raising the curiosity, etc., of the scholars.

² See *Minutes of Committee of Council*, 1850-51, vol. i. pp. 14-15.

³ 1877 MS.

Granville, to justify the uncompromising and persevering opposition to the Revised Code. . . . But though, in successive years, its provisions were gradually modified, and although the spirit of the former code was, in a measure, restored in 1875, it was not until hope had been revived by the measures adopted by the Education Department under Lord Ripon and Mr. Forster that the zeal and energy of the managers and teachers brought about any great reparation of these disasters."

Vigorously as Sir James had led the struggle against the Revised Code his energy had been also expended in a crisis of another nature. The American Civil War had quickly reduced Lancashire to a state of unparalleled distress, and, by the end of 1861, the cotton mills were on short time or had been closed down. Soon the improvident, and afterwards the thrifty, were face to face with starvation, and as the winter advanced the position grew steadily worse. The workers of Lancashire were called upon to endure such physical and mental sufferings as can be realised only by one who has experienced their needs and who shares their independence of spirit. The patience, fortitude, and good sense of the people have been vividly described by local writers, but the rarest qualities and the deepest suffering were hidden by the pride that kept them secret. One illustration out of many must suffice as an indication :

"A visitor called upon a family where no application for relief had been made, but some of the neighbours had said they were 'ill off.' The visitor, finding them perishing for want, offered some relief tickets; but the poor woman began to cry, and said: 'Eh! aw dar' not touch 'em; my husban' would sauce me so! Aw dar' not tak' 'em; aw should never yer th' last on 't.'"¹

Relief Committees were set up in various towns, and in the *Times* in April, 1862, "A Lancashire Lad" (Arthur Arnold) pleaded for wider sympathy. The Lord Mayor of London opened the Cotton Districts

¹ *Facts of the Cotton Famine*, by John Watts, p. 135.

Relief Fund, for which, in its early stages, Sir James acted as Secretary, and it received donations from every country in the world. Soon afterwards was opened at Manchester the Fund for the Relief of Distress in the Manufacturing Districts, upon the executive committee of which fell an enormous burden of investigation and distribution, and of this committee he was the Vice-Chairman ¹ and the most active member. It had an overwhelming task to face: it had to work through local committees and keep in touch with Boards of Guardians; it had to encounter local jealousies and the danger of over-lapping; it had to face the public criticism of Kingsley and others who could not understand why a greater burden of relief should not be thrown on the poor rates; still more important and more difficult, it had to relieve the deserving without injury to their independence and self-respect.

To Sir James this last task was of first importance, for to the violation of this principle he had traced many social evils. Many of the devices that were adopted to make it operative were his own. Schools were opened for men and youths, and, in the winter of 1862-3, there were 48,000 in attendance. Sewing classes were set up for women and girls. Where possible, outdoor work was provided for the able-bodied. Sir James prepared a "Manual of Suggestions for the guidance of Local Relief Committees in the Cotton Districts," ² and his care of detail is illustrated by his suggestions that men, put to heavy outdoor labour, should be provided with clothing suited to their changed occupation and with shelter during inclement weather. The problem to him was, first and last, a human one, and his suggestions were rich with variations to meet special cases. Taught by his experience in the Poor Law Office, he was an unflinching opponent of those who, with less insight and no greater sympathy, sought to increase the scale of relief pay; to him the principle was clear: the rate

¹ Lord Ellesmere was Chairman for a time, and Lord Derby for the more serious period of distress.

² Reprinted in his volume *Social Problems*.

of relief must be just sufficient for existence ; and work, when obtainable, must be more profitable than idleness. He advocated, as a check upon the foolish use of money, the granting of relief by tickets, an innovation that caused trouble in Stalybridge in 1863, where the hostility was fed by the knowledge that some local busybodies, on going up to London, had received a grant direct from the Mansion House Fund. The local committee thereupon passed a resolution to resign ; but Sir James went to the town, and induced them to rescind the resolution by declaring that "if they declined he would himself sit and administer relief by ticket."¹ His mission was suspected by the infuriated people, and he was in some danger as he proceeded to the station ; but two days later he was back again and addressed a public meeting in straight terms, appealing to that self-respect which he knew had been temporarily submerged by a gust of passion. And to a local minister of religion, who had attempted to justify the riot, he administered a sharp rebuke.

Concerned as he was with the wide responsibilities of the central executive, he was especially concerned with the town of Padiham, which lay outside the gates of Gawthorpe. He provided work on the estate, organised sewing classes, arranged for the provision of meals in a central building in the town, and promoted popular lectures and concerts—so that idleness should be less oppressive and leisure less dangerous. For the same reason he began to hold religious services in a schoolroom on Sunday afternoons, where he delivered a series of addresses,² full of serious exhortation and simple faith, clear argument and familiar illustration. Passages may be quoted as illustrative of his attitude in the crisis :

"I would speak a word about what is being done locally on your behalf. I have watched the proceedings

¹ Watts, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

² Printed as *Words of Comfort and Counsel to Distressed Lancashire Workmen, spoken on Sundays, 1862. By a Country Squire—their Neighbour.*

of your Relief Committee with great care. I am not easily satisfied as to the mode of dealing with the poor in such circumstances as these. I should be a very severe critic indeed, if I thought the Relief Committee was not acting judiciously towards those now suffering. If I were dissatisfied I would not conceal my dissatisfaction. I am not a respecter of men in the sense of withholding my genuine opinions, whether their expression gives offence or not, when the interests of large classes are concerned. I feel bound to say that I think your Relief Committee is acting with great judgment, discretion, and kindness. Yesterday they resolved to increase the amount of relief to two shillings per head in families of four, making that number the centre of the scale, but giving, in addition, coal and clothes, and clogs to men and youths working on the roads. That is the highest scale of relief which any Relief Committee in Lancashire has yet reached ; so that you are surrounded by men—to a great extent millowners in the town—who are sympathetic towards you, who are doing as much for you as is done by any other Relief Committee in the country. They deserve both your confidence, your respect, and, I may say, some return of that charity which binds all classes together, and binds us to God in the charity of the Gospel,—the love which is the very essence and spirit of this Gospel, and which is the strongest bond in life.”

He saw that the trial would be of long duration :

“Seek cheerfully, my friends and neighbours, any work which will keep up the discipline of labour ! Unemployed time is a sore temptation and dangerous trial to a man who has worked at least ten hours daily all his life. It might be that idleness, at first most unwelcome, would become more congenial. It might be that penury would throw you into the hands of designing men, who would vilify those who are exerting themselves benevolently for your benefit, and bribe you by insidious arts to place yourselves under their influence, in order, in future, to use you as instruments in their disorganising schemes. It might be that you would become querulous—that you would be indifferent to fair offers of work—that you would find fault with the material used, or the wages earned, without sufficient cause. Be warned in time ! There will not, probably, be more than half the

former supply of cotton in 1863. This cotton will be of much inferior quality to that on which you have been accustomed to work. You will have to work a longer time to manufacture the same weight of cotton, and the profits of trade may not afford you more than former wages for the same weight worked up in that longer time, or they may yield you less wages. That would be a new trial to your intelligence, patience, and fidelity."

If the Lancashire operatives bore their sufferings during these years with a patience and courage that aroused the admiration of the world, the work of the Executive Committee was also carried out with unusual wisdom and care. Dr. Watts, in his history of the Cotton Famine, pays tribute to Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's "intense activity of brain and persevering energy and administrative ability," and the compliment was well-earned. He brought to the Committee not only clearly formulated principles of procedure, but also a many-sided knowledge of the details involved. The provision of work, the organising of classes, the preparation of economical meals, the making of clothing for winter, the whitewashing of cottages, domestic sanitation—every phase of life was supervised and every precaution taken. To the amazement of statisticians no increase of mortality could be traced to the famine; in fact, the general health of the people showed improvement,¹ a striking proof of the wisdom of the measures adopted. And Sir James referred afterwards, on many occasions, to the

"intelligence shown by the workmen of Lancashire in discerning the true causes of the cotton famine; in acquiescing without a murmur in the national policy of non-intervention in the American War; and in many of them living for three years on one-third of their ordinary wages without loosing the spring of their native industry and independence."²

¹ *On Fluctuations in the Death Rate*, by D. Noble (paper read before the Manchester Statistical Society, October 26, 1863), also *On the Pauperism and Mortality of Lancashire*, by F. Purdy (paper read before the British Association, Section F, 1863).

² *Social Problems*, p. 153.

Nor did the restoration of the cotton trade in 1865 bring to an end his labours, for the discussion as to the allocation of the surplus funds was long and difficult, and it was not until 1876, within a year of his death, that he resigned from the committee, which had, slowly enough, virtually accepted the proposals he had submitted to them in 1872, when he had prepared a scheme to make provision for sickly and convalescent cotton operatives (see p. 337).

This work was partly responsible for his refusal to contest South Lancashire in 1865. His name was put forward in March, but he wrote to urge that union was the greatest need, and that he saw "no other means of accomplishing this than the candidature of Mr. Gladstone," whose name would unite the Whigs and advanced Liberals. "I regard myself as of small importance, but the union of the party as the one condition necessary to success." In June, his name still being put forward, he definitely refused to stand, much to the regret of an enthusiastic politician, who promised him certain victory in an election that "would ring through Europe, and settle this country for a generation." Thus he might have been Gladstone's colleague in a famous contest which gave the latter a seat after Oxford had rejected him. Why he was not is most clearly stated in a letter to Lord Derby, the Chairman of the Relief Fund:

"My reasons for declining were numerous, but among them I felt that a political candidature in South Lancashire, immediately after our work on the Relief Committee, exposed me to imputations as to the motives which had determined the extent of relief in particular districts, which, however unfounded and unjust, I ought for the sake of the Committee to avoid."

The outbreak of the cattle plague in the same year, which caused the loss of 45,000 cattle in six months, enlisted his interest. The Government issued several Orders in Council in August, and, at the end of that month, he drew up and circulated a letter to make known among farmers the precautions that were advisable, and the penalties to which they were liable under the new

Orders. The Government appointed a Royal Commission in October, and, in the following January, Sir James submitted proposals to Sir George Grey in the form of a bill which proposed to spread the burden over a number of years, and to promote a mutual assurance society. The Government favoured the first proposal, and embodied it in their Cattle Plague Bill. Sir James was also a spokesman for a deputation of Lancashire men in an interview with Earl Russell, on whom he urged the desirability of more stringent control over the movement of cattle.

No adequate picture could be presented of his multi-form labours in the 'sixties without reference to the many speeches he delivered. Many of them he afterwards reprinted in a volume called *Social Problems*, published in 1873, and distributed among mechanics' institutions and educational associations. Some of them were papers read to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, of which, in 1859, 1860, and 1866, he was the President of a Department, and, until 1872, a member of the council. They are interesting essays in a field which Ruskin was at that time beginning to dominate, for, in 1859, the address¹ was designed to show the interpenetration of all the elements of society; in 1860 the essence of the paper² was a plea that "the purely economic laws governing the production of wealth are necessarily subject to higher laws of moral obligation"; and in 1866 he endeavoured to show³ that "the growth of the intellectual and moral capacity of all classes is the primary source of strength and progress in any commonwealth." The third paper is the most readable and the most characteristic; it expresses his satisfaction in the emergence of eminent men from humble origins, men like Hargreaves, Crompton, Arkwright, Roberts, Brindley, Wedgwood, Mercer, Watts, Stephenson, and Fairbairn; it rejoices at "the remarkable

¹ *The Progress of Civilisation in England.*

² *Public Education and the Relation of Moral and Physical Forces in Civilisation.*

³ *A Sketch of the Laws of Social Progress.*

spectacle exhibited by the operatives of the staple trade of this country during the cotton famine"; and it proceeds to the warning that, with the extension of the franchise,

"we must take systematic measures to instruct the people from their youth upwards in economic laws, and in the history of our liberty, and to instil into them a reverence, founded upon sound principles, for institutions which are the growth of the traditions, habits, and associations of all classes, which derive their life and strength from an intelligent freedom, but would perish under ignorant and presumptuous innovation."

How different was this, in faith and in evaluation, from Robert Lowe's diatribe against the poor in that same year 1866, during the debates on the extension of the franchise :

"If you want venality," said Lowe, in his conscious arrogance, "if you want ignorance, if you want drunkenness, and facility for being intimidated, or if, on the other hand, you want impulsive, unreflecting and violent people, where do you look for them in the constituencies? Do you go to the top or to the bottom?"

Several addresses on the application of science and art to industry show his comprehensive view of education. At the Annual Meeting of the Manchester School of Art, in 1863, and as President of the Art Workmen's Exhibition in Manchester (1865 and 1866), he saw and emphasised the signs of a growth of artistic skill and scientific knowledge in English artisans. At the Oldham School of Art, in 1864, he showed that the pupil-teacher system was, among other things, an attempt to raise a profession of teachers from the artisan class, in order that there should be a close sympathy between them and the future manual workers.

There were no limits to his energy, no bounds to his interests. At the Northern Counties' Asylum, in 1864, he pleaded forcibly for the humane treatment of idiots; at Bury, in the same year, he spoke with warm approval of the many co-operative associations of workmen that he was acquainted with; in 1865 he

addressed the Kendal Working Men's Club on the dangers of class government. Nearly every year he delivered the annual address to the East Lancashire Union of Mechanics' Institutions, the work of which went on through the difficult period of the cotton famine. An address to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in 1866, on endowments for middle-class education, marks his continued and growing interest in higher education.¹

A new educational movement in Manchester, in 1864, resulted in the establishment of the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society, the aim of which was to get the children into the existing schools. Their statistics show how inadequate school attendance remained.² In 1866 they presented a report to the Social Science Congress advocating free, compulsory education, maintained by local rates. This produced the Manchester Education Bill Committee, and, later, the Education of the Poor Bill, introduced into the House of Commons, in 1867, by Messrs. Bruce, W. E. Forster, and Egerton. It proposed to give rate aid to existing schools which did not charge a higher school fee than ninepence per week, and to provide new schools in neglected districts. Aid from the Education Committee was to be regulated by a sliding scale, computed on attendance, and varying with age and sex, the highest grants being made in schools where "some trade, business, or manual occupation" was taught.

This revival of interest in educational legislation induced Sir James to publish, in January, 1868, his *Memorandum on Popular Education*, a pamphlet of 83 pages. It is largely an indictment of the Revised Code. State grants had been reduced from 12s. 3d. to 8s. 6d. per scholar annually, a decrease of over thirty per cent. Local resources had increased at the rate of 1s. 1d. per scholar, 11d. of which was derived from school pence, a striking proof of the fallacy of the argument that the Revised Code would stimulate local effort. Still worse, the new system had destroyed the wider values

¹ See Chapter X.

² Maltby, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

of the school, and had not increased the efficiency of the scholars in the three R's, for the percentage of failures had increased almost uniformly between 1863-4 and 1866, although a diminishing percentage of scholars had been presented for examination.

"The scholars fail to pass even the low standards under the Revised Code, partly because the principal and assistant teachers lose heart under their work. The methods by which the teaching of the rudiments is, in the best schools of Holland, Prussia, and Switzerland, refined and elevated above a mechanical drudgery, are here generally falling into disuse, since the object of the schools has been contracted to those 'results' which have been interpreted to be the goal fixed by the State for elementary education."

He finds not a single commendable achievement as the result of the new Code. Even the relief to the office cannot have been much, he argues, for the cost of administration and inspection had been reduced by little more than one per cent. Teachers had decreased in number, and the training of pupil teachers made less efficient. School had become "a dull, mean, and mechanical drill in the humblest elements of learning. Such methods as I found in 1839 in the Canton of Zurich, in the schools of Holland, and in some parts of Germany, could not coexist with the Revised Code." Applicants for admission into the training colleges had so deteriorated in attainment that the standard of admission had to be lowered, and there was a serious decrease in the number applying and admitted. In 1866-7 two training colleges were closed, and the inspectors anticipated the same fate for others.

It is a melancholy catalogue of evils, and it more than justifies his outburst—

"The Revised Code has constructed nothing; it has only pulled down. It has not simplified the administration. It did not pretend to accelerate the rate of building schools, or to improve their structure. It has not promoted the more rapid diffusion of annual grants and inspection to the apathetic parts of cities, or the

founding of schools in small parishes and for the sparse population of rural districts. It has generally discouraged all instruction above the elements, and failed in teaching them. It has disorganised and threatens to destroy the whole system of training teachers and providing an efficient machinery of instruction for schools. These ruins are its only monuments. It has not succeeded in being efficient, but it is not even cheap; for it wastes the public money without producing the results which were declared to be its main object."

Turning to current problems, he quotes some recent inquiries in Manchester and London to show that "some heroic remedy" is required. The denominational system has proved a task "beyond the strength" of the various religious bodies, and, although the conversion of the Voluntaryists¹ would add to the efforts of the Churches, the problem in large cities and apathetic districts was too great to solve without new means. To undo the evils of the Revised Code he proposed grants on a fourfold basis :—

1. A capitation grant of five shillings, based on attendance and examination.
2. A capitation grant of five shillings, where a certificated teacher and a due number of pupil teachers were employed.
3. An additional capitation grant of four shillings for the employment of a larger number of pupil teachers.
4. An additional capitation grant of four shillings for a satisfactory examination in two "extra" subjects.

To a proposal that Lowe had made, that the Privy Council should be given power to establish schools in neglected districts, he objects on the ground that the co-operation of central and local authority is more in harmony with English ideas of government. He lays down what he considers the chief needs of educational legislation :—

1. An intelligent district education committee, on

¹ Mr. Baines had announced his changed views in 1867. See Chapter V. p. 159.

which would serve "men qualified by position, education, and experience."

2. A constitution for new schools that will be recognised by future Minutes.

3. Local committees of management which shall not be confined to ratepayers, as "the constitution of English society requires that the clergy and the resident proprietors, as well as ratepayers and parents, shall be members of the managing committee."

4. School pence to be remitted in parishes where the wages of labour are low.

5. Outdoor relief should be given only on condition that the children were at school, and paid for out of the poor rates, thus keeping clear the distinction between thriftlessness and independence.

6. The amount of money to be raised should be determined by the district and not by the parochial school committee.

He regards free education as a questionable boon, as parents should feel a "personal obligation," out of which springs his right to choose the school for his child, and his claim to be represented on the Management Committee.

The pamphlet is thus a plea for an extension of the denominational system by giving a regulated and limited power of initiative to the State, facilities to raise a school rate without disturbing the religious constitution of schools, and a revised form of making Government grants so as to remove the proved evils of the Revised Code. Matthew Arnold, who read it in proof, thought it "admirable," and longed to give it to Lingen, who, he wrote, "is really excellent, now at any rate, both in spirit and aim; what he wants is *more light*." The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, Lord Auckland, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Granville, Lord Derby, Archdeacon Allen, W. E. Forster, E. C. Tufnell, John Bright, J. A. Roebuck, and others wrote with complete or partial approval. Even Robert Lowe was won by it, and two opposing temperaments came together. "I am glad," he wrote, "that in the education campaign

that is approaching we are likely to be on the same side. I am not at all bigoted to my own plan, provided, by some means or other, an initiative be secured to the Government.”¹ In September, 1868, Gladstone, not yet victorious at the polls, wrote :

“Your suggestions on the Education Bill deserve the most careful consideration as coming from you, and also in themselves. I must admit that I am much struck with the force of your observations about free schools. I do not at present see why the obligation of the parent to educate his child should not be treated like the obligation to feed, clothe, and lodge him.”

The return of the Liberal party to power, and Gladstone to office, in December, 1868, also brought W. E. Forster to the Vice-Presidency of the Committee of Council on Education, and, on Christmas Day, he wrote to Sir James :

“You may rely on my bringing your suggestions before de Grey [the Lord President], and on our fully considering them. I trust you will not *weary* of giving me either hints or warnings. I am somewhat appalled by the amount of detail in the office, and fear that there must be great difficulty always in well oiling so large a machine as our present centralised system.”

Sir James was also in correspondence with John Bright, the new President of the Board of Trade, whom he warned of the danger of making a radical change that would imperil the co-operation of the State and the religious bodies by substituting a system supported and governed by ratepayers.

“Such a measure,” he wrote, “if proposed now, would excite much alarm and provoke so much resistance, that I anticipate not merely its failure, but the indefinite postponement of much that is now practicable . . . I would so order the traditional school as to make it the unconscious but efficient instrument of

¹ A spirit of toleration seems to have been abroad in 1868, for in that year Archdeacon Denison wrote to Sir James : “I did not learn till late in life to distinguish between a system and the men who promote it. We cannot agree, but I rejoice in the relations which you have done so much to establish between us, and I feel all your kindness very deeply.”

the elevation of the people to all the highest functions and capacities of civil freedom. These words are the key to all that I have attempted on this matter for thirty years."

The urgency of the Irish problem delayed until February, 1870, the introduction of Forster's famous Education Bill. The formation of the National Education League at Birmingham, in 1869, was the cry of Liberal and Nonconformist England for free, unsectarian, compulsory education, and great hopes were entertained that the Government Bill would meet all their demands. But Forster, as has been seen, had seen great virtue in the denominational schools in the 'fifties, and had been influenced considerably by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's views; consequently, his Bill was a compromise, retaining the existing schools, and empowering the proposed local School Boards to build new schools in order "to fill up the gaps." In introducing his measure he paid a fitting tribute to Sir James as "the man to whom, probably more than any other, we owe national education in England."

The details of the 1870 Act, and the resultant bitter controversy over clause 25,¹ provoking a dissension within the Liberal party which contributed to its downfall in 1874, do not come within the scope of this book. Sir James was no longer in the front of the battle, and he was satisfied that the issue could be left to others. He was a keenly interested observer, and was in touch with various members of Parliament² during the debates. The election of his eldest son, Mr. U. J. Kay-Shuttleworth (now Lord Shuttleworth), as member for Hastings, provided a fitting opportunity for a maiden speech in the House, expressing his own and also his father's approval of the general lines of the measure, in the debate on the second reading, when he opposed an amendment of Mr. George Dixon's, the parliamentary leader of the National Education League.

The Act of 1870 accepted the denominational system

¹ See note on p. 298.

² With Dr. Lyon Playfair, for example, whose speeches were of high merit.

and supplemented it, thereby arousing the anger of extremists on both sides. Archdeacon Denison greeted it as the final proof of Liberal wickedness against which he had striven for a lifetime. The indignant Nonconformist Liberals regarded it as a betrayal, and the country rang once more with the cries of religious strife. One must go back to the speeches of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and the writings of Mr. John Morley,¹ to appreciate the intense resentment felt at the time. It was a day of suspicion: the Nonconformists were disturbed by the proposed religious teaching to be given in board schools at the public expense, by suspicions of Government influence to induce School Boards to apply clause 25, by the recognition of the clergy in the Endowed Schools Act (1869), and by the bar on Nonconformists for University Fellowships. Much of this resentment turned against Forster, who was described by R. W. Dale, amid the assenting cheers of a large Nonconformist gathering at Manchester, in 1871, as "the Minister whom we have learned to regard with distrust." Into this bitter controversy Sir James did not enter; he was busy at the time with other problems,² but in his Preface to *Social Problems*, published in 1873, he attempted to show, briefly, that clause 25 was of less significance than had been asserted:

"The day school is . . . a national institution. It is intended for children whose parents belong to all religious communions. For such children the law provides that the parent shall, both by the choice of the school and by his authority over the education of the scholar, prevent any sectarian teaching to which he may have conscientious objections."

Elementary education was at last becoming national, and the settlement of 1870 has proved to be a stable one. In its recognition of denominational schools, its conscience clause, its declaration that a parent's duty

¹ *The Struggle for National Education*—largely a reprint from his articles in the *Fortnightly*.

² See Chapter X.

was to educate his children, its provision that no child should be kept out of school because of poverty, its new machinery for setting up schools in neglected districts, it developed the principles for which Sir James had long worked; but in its silence on the method of awarding school grants, in its failure to undo the manifest evils of the Revised Code, it made little appeal to those who saw in education something more important than the jealousy of parties.

The chief educational interest of Sir James in his old age was the development of higher education and the building up of a public school at Giggleswick, a story which will be best related in a separate chapter. But a few important events in the 'seventies demand brief notice here. On June 1, 1870, Lord Salisbury wrote:

"The University of Oxford propose, in recognition of your great services in the cause of education, to confer upon you an honorary degree at the approaching commemoration. I trust that it will be agreeable to you to accede to their request in this matter: and that it will be possible for you without inconvenience to attend at the theatre to receive the degree. In any case I am much gratified to be able to associate myself with them in proffering to you this token of our profound respect."

Sir James acknowledged the "very flattering and personally kind terms" in which the distinction was offered, and added: "My gratification in accepting this honour would be greater if I could feel that I had earned it by services at all proportionate to the reward." He was thus made a D.C.L. of Oxford.

In 1873 he published his book, *Social Problems*,¹ a collection of addresses made at various times and in various places, prefaced by an introduction of vigorous

¹ No separate mention has been made in this chapter of the publication, in 1862, of his most important work, *Four Periods of Public Education*, as its contents have been noticed chronologically in the narrative. It was a reprint of his pamphlets on Manchester in 1832, the establishment of the Committee of Council, the Battersea Reports, the Minutes of 1846, and the Letters on the Revised Code.

and clear optimism, with a kindly rebuke to the partisans who are lost in the warfare of temporary passion :

“ Exaggerated notions have existed,” he writes, “ of the amount of dogmatic instruction which can be imparted to children within the elementary school age. . . . Conviction on such subjects is rarely attained in the day school . . . the family determines the associations of the child with any particular communion. . . . The school may do much to regulate the habits and manners. The training of the scholars in cleanliness, order, obedience, truthfulness, and kindness ; in habits of attention and mental application, and the exercise of higher capacities, co-operates with the moral teaching upheld by religious sanctions. But the Church and the congregation rarely make proselytes in the schools. The parents choose the school, and the family determines the place of worship and the associations of religious life in which the child grows to adult age.”

It is a simple truth that has been too easily forgotten.

In the same year he was urging on Gladstone the need of legislation to remove the irritation engendered by the Act of 1870. The Prime Minister replied :

“ I do not think the moment has arrived for any new attempt to alter the Education Act in relation to the 25th clause ; but it cannot be *very* long before the question is raised anew in one shape or another.”

A few months were to show that the irritation was deep enough to help to overthrow the Government.

In 1874, in his seventieth year, Sir James fought his first and last parliamentary election, and was unsuccessful by 87 votes in a year of Liberal defeat. His campaign was marked by a vigour of body and mind nothing short of remarkable for one of his age, and he aroused huge audiences to an enthusiasm which is still remembered by the older inhabitants of North-East Lancashire. In the midst of the Liberal ruin, Gladstone found time to write : “ I have had to lament the loss of your election in common with several others of special interest, besides the indiscriminate slaughter of the mass.”

Equally remarkable was his publication of a second novel, *Ribblesdale*, in the same year. It is a story of Lancashire in Napoleonic days, the theme of which is the attachment of the son of a noble house to the daughter of a wealthy manufacturer, and the complicated prejudices and obstacles which stand in the way of their union. The plot is intricate, but is developed with much greater unity and with fewer interruptions than that of *Scarsdale*; it has little of the long and stilted discussions which mar the earlier work, and the characters, as a whole, have more life. But it is less rich in local lore and in the characterisation of the Lancashire peasantry.

In 1876 Lord Sandon's Act brought compulsory education one step nearer completion, parents being made liable to certain penalties if the education of their children were habitually neglected, and School Attendance Committees being set up in districts where no School Board existed. Sir James thought "the bill was in the right direction, though feeble and confused." In almost daily letters to his son, oftentimes written in great pain and weakness, and with a halting pen, he commented on the debates and the developments of the bill in its passage through Parliament, rebuking the extremists on both sides :

"I am unspeakably disgusted," he wrote, "with the factious agitation of the extreme Nonconformists, who seem to have no zeal for education, except when it can be made subversive of the influence of the Church." And of the opposite party : "Any such alteration of the Cowper-Temple Clause as is proposed by the Church Union—by introducing instruction in the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments—would probably have the opposite effect to that intended. In the majority of Board Schools this religious instruction is sound and efficient."

These last letters reveal the same vigorous judgment on men and parties, the same concern for the welfare of the people, and the same detached view of national progress as he had shown during half a century of public service.

His last publication was an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, of May, 1876, on "Some of the Results of the Education Act and Code of 1870." After tracing the growth of the denominational schools, and the rapid advance in their number and that of board schools between 1870 and 1875, he raises the interesting problem of the future of the dual system and the struggle that was already manifest between two institutions, one of which had the financial advantage of rate aid, the other the voluntary zeal of religious organisations. He is anxious for two reasons: first, the board schools, by their superior buildings, equipment, and staff, may be able to offer so superior an education as to bring about the extinction of voluntary schools; on the other hand, the rapid growth of the school rate might produce such a reaction of economy as to secure the election of a School Board determined to reduce expenditure and sacrifice efficiency. Signs of the latter were already clear in London, where expenditure had increased at too rapid a rate. His article is therefore a plea that the School Boards should not outpace the voluntary schools so much as to endanger their existence, thereby destroying a large source of revenue which would, in turn, have to be raised by an increased rate, producing a certain reaction which would stop progress.

"The proper province of the School Boards," he concludes, "is to carry out the intentions of the authors of the Education Act and Code, 1870. While these Boards supply efficient schools in their districts wherever they are needed, they have also to promote such an improvement in the machinery of instruction, and in the range and standard of elementary education, as may be found practicable, without bringing about the catastrophe of ruin to the voluntary schools. The voluntary schools could not, however, exist as a retarding force. They will have to co-operate successfully, as they have hitherto done, in this endeavour to improve elementary education; and their past exertions and sacrifices, as well as their present position, justify their claim not to be subjected to a deliberately aggressive policy."

The history of the succeeding twenty-five years

shows that he had discerned the most complex and the most urgent problem of educational administration.

In the MS. written towards the end of his life he notes the many signs of progress that were visible, after the disastrous effects of the Revised Code had been checked. Between 1866 and 1874 the students in training colleges had increased in the proportion of two to three, and pupil teachers in the proportion of one to three. The average salary of a certificated teacher, which had fallen in the period 1861-1866, had risen by 1874 to more than the amount of 1861. Voluntary contributions showed the same recovery; under the reduced grants of the 'sixties they had declined, but after the larger State contributions following the 1870 Act they had rapidly increased. The average attendance of scholars showed the same improvement. He repeats his argument from the *Fortnightly*: the only danger to this gradual improvement is an aggressive policy by the School Boards. And his last word is, of course, on the human problem, the teacher, upon whose efficiency all these schemes and calculations depend. It will be fitting to end this account with his last *apologia* for the pupil teacher system, planned by him to secure a sufficient supply of well-trained teachers:

"It should also be borne in mind that the pupil teacher system has, even after thirty years' experience, been imperfectly developed. For its complete success in any school several conditions are necessary which are too often absent. The vigour, zeal, and skill of the principal teacher are among these primary conditions. When these are wanting, the pupil teachers lack the inspiring example of their master, who may also fail in the regularity and efficiency of the special instruction of his apprentices. The school managers may be careless in their vigilance over these details. For these defects the annual inspection is an imperfect remedy. Moreover, the staff of the schools has always been overburdened with work. The intention of the Minutes was that no pupil teacher should have charge of more than 25 scholars. They have always been oppressed with a heavier charge. If this order to make bricks without

straw were not irrational and disastrous, it would be ludicrous. The proportion of all classes of teachers to the scholars still shows a deficiency which is not merely injurious to the school but to the training of the pupil teachers. When such a defective organisation is combined with the ignorance of the scholars—the want of home training—the irregularity of attendance—the interference of the half-time system, however necessary, it is clear that the pupil teacher system cannot be charged with all the shortcomings of elementary schools. The first step would naturally be to increase the vigilance of managers, the efficiency of the training of the masters, and to remove from the staff the oppression of numbers with which it is unable to cope."

NOTE ON 25TH CLAUSE OF EDUCATION ACT, 1870

This clause empowered school boards to pay the school fees of children whose parents were shown to be too poor to pay them. Although the clause was not challenged in the discussions in the House of Commons, it came to be the pivot of the Nonconformist opposition to the Government. It was argued that, inasmuch as the majority of the schools were Church schools teaching the tenets of a particular faith, the clause meant, in practice, the endowment of one Church with public money.

CHAPTER X

HIGHER EDUCATION

SIR James Kay-Shuttleworth's work for higher education has not been included among the activities described in preceding chapters, in order that it might be treated as a whole. It will be an account of beginnings rather than of complete achievements, for, during his most active years, the organisation of secondary education was but a remote question, and even in the 'seventies was weak and defective.

The history of higher education in England during the first six decades of the nineteenth century is a varied record of schools and schoolmasters with a national reputation, and of institutions which existed for no other obvious purpose than to provide, from their ancient endowments, some inefficient person with a salary larger than he deserved. There was no effective control, no inspection, no life; and abuses were rampant.

The scandal of the misuse of charity funds had not escaped the vigilant eye of Lord Brougham, whose agitation led to the setting up, in 1818, of the Charity Commission, which continued its thankless inquiries, with some intervals, until 1837, publishing thirty-two reports in thirty-eight folio volumes.¹ Such prolific

¹ A convenient account of the charity endowments is given by Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth in chapter iv. of his *Public Education*, and by J. P. Fearon in a pamphlet *The Endowed Charities* (1855). The educational aspects are reviewed briefly by Sir M. E. Sadler in *Outlines of Education Courses* (Manchester University). Sir Graham Balfour in his *Educational Systems* summarises the legislative changes which governed their application. See also "Endowed Charities," by Courtney Kenny, and "The Dead Hand," by Sir Arthur Hobhouse.

revelation defeated its own end to some extent, and the public seemed undisturbed by the catalogue of abuse, misuse, theft, and waste so freely described. No fewer than 28,880 charities were investigated, and the aggregate annual income was estimated at £1,209,395. Of this sum £312,544 was for education, and belonged, in almost equal amounts, to elementary schools and to higher schools. But later inquiries showed that these immense resources were seriously under-estimated, and that many charities, some of large amounts, had been omitted by the Commission. Lord Brougham thought that the total revenue for education must be somewhere about half a million, and Sir James accepted his calculation, but in 1876 the figure was revealed as £646,882.¹

The redress of abuse in the first half of the century was costly and slow, and cases are on record of the whole of a charity being absorbed by the costs of proceedings in the Chancery Court. As a large number of educational endowments were small in value, mismanagement was tolerated the more readily.

Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was interested in the possibility of reform at an early date. He regarded endowments as a valuable form of voluntary provision for education, especially useful in poor and apathetic districts, and he seems to have made a careful study of the voluminous reports published by the Commissioners. Fragments of manuscripts, undated, show that he intended to write a detailed account of educational endowments since the Reformation, and he studied in detail the intentions of the Reformers, and especially their provision of schools for the middle classes. Also, as Secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, his attention was drawn to the question, for a Report was printed, in the Committee's *Minutes*, on the scandalous state of the endowed schools in the Midlands,² wherein Inspector Allen urged the need for some more convenient means of redress than the Court of Chancery offered.

¹ Sir Graham Balfour, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

² *Minutes*, 1842-3, pp. 37-59.

In 1840 the Grammar School Act was passed, and, although it remained largely inoperative, it gave the Courts larger rights of interference with the regulations of such schools than they had possessed hitherto, such as the power of establishing more efficient schools, and of widening their curricula. Two unsuccessful attempts at legislation, in 1841 and 1843, proposed to confer on the Privy Council a limited administrative authority in the regulation of small educational endowments, and are quoted here as evidence of the growing recognition of the importance of making better use of misspent funds. They were followed by many equally unsuccessful attempts to secure reform by Bills, brought before the House of Lords or the House of Commons, in nearly every session throughout the 'forties.

In 1849 a Royal Commission was set up, and reported that "the evils and abuses are still in existence to a very wide extent, and no sufficient remedy has yet been provided for this correction." This Commission prepared Bills for the sessions of 1851 and 1852, covering the whole field of abuse, but they were not passed.

Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, having studied and evaluated these many proposals, formulated a scheme in 1852, and laid it before Lord John Russell.¹ He proposed that the Courts should retain their judicial control, but that, for administrative purposes, a Board of Public Charities should be set up, consisting of a Committee of the Privy Council represented by the Lord President in the House of Lords, and by a Vice-President in the House of Commons, uniting with the Committee on Education in a "Committee of Public Education and Charities." Legal proceedings, he suggested, would be facilitated by appointing Judges in Charities, who would decide cases relating to endowments under the annual value of £200, holding their courts in the places concerned. He also made

¹ See *Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission*, vol. v. p. 900. This scheme was the basis of the proposals he described in 1853 in his *Public Education*, chapter iv.

detailed recommendations for the readjustment of the smaller charities.

In 1853 the Charity Commission was set up by the Charitable Trusts Act, and some of Sir James's proposals were adopted. Four Commissioners were appointed, with power to inquire into charities and to prepare schemes for the use of charitable property in new trusts whenever trustees or interested persons applied to them. Each scheme had to be confirmed by a separate Act of Parliament, and, although this made reform slow, it was the beginning of a more effective control.

The 'sixties were a decade of inquiries. The work of the Newcastle Commission, which reported on the condition of elementary education in 1861, has already been described.¹ It was followed by the appointment, in 1861, of a Royal Commission to inquire into nine leading Public Schools, and, in 1864, of the Schools Inquiry Commission, the task of which was to investigate the endowed schools which had not fallen within the terms of the two first bodies.

Sir James was called before this last Commission to give evidence on May 8, 1866.² After testifying to the successful work done by the Charity Commissioners appointed in 1853, he suggested that the great need was for the extension of their powers as a scholastic body, a suggestion which links on to his own work for the elementary schools, and shows his conception of the true function of a central authority in education:

"They do not at present exercise any function like that of the Committee of Council on Education. They do not inspect, or advise as to the construction of school buildings with a view to scholastic purposes. . . . They do not now advise as to the qualifications of masters, whereas many of the governing bodies, when selecting masters, would be glad to have the assistance of a skilled public body, acting upon public principles, and in communication with the Universities. They do

¹ Chapter IX. pp. 258-261.

² *Schools Inquiry Commission Report*, vol. v. pp. 897-923.

not at present advise as to schemes of study, or as to the methods of instruction. In fact, in all those respects in which the Committee of Council have so much promoted the improvement of public education in elementary schools, I think it desirable that the Charity Commissioners should advise and aid the governing bodies. There are many matters in which the information obtained by one trust would be useful to another; questions as to the literary and pecuniary conditions of the admission of scholars; as to periodic examination and other modes of ascertaining the actual condition of the school, and in the revisal of schemes as to the powers to be confided respectively to the governors, the head and assistant masters; the establishment of scholarships and exhibitions; the nature of the discipline, and domestic arrangements. In all these matters the administrative departments of the Charity Commissioners should become the depository of experience collected from the whole country, enabling it both to answer inquiries beneficially, and also to originate improvements by suggestion."

He was careful to explain that this central power should not mean the imposition of a dull uniformity, but the means of collecting an authoritative body of knowledge available to all who sought it. To this end he suggested that the Charity Commission should be enlarged by the inclusion of men of eminent scholastic ability, forming a department of the Privy Council. One Vice-President could represent it and the Education Department in the House of Commons, and thus

"a relation might be established between the elementary, the grammar schools, and the universities. They might form a series of institutions, with means of transition from the lowest to the highest; thus establishing for the greatest capacities of all ranks an equality of privileges which, for political and social purposes, is of national importance."

Remembering that many of the old grammar schools were free schools, and recalling, as he had often done, that boys of the humblest rank had risen by their aid to the highest positions in Church and State, he urged upon the Commission the importance of a wide provision

of scholarships and university exhibitions, such scholarships to cover not only the cost of tuition, but also the very modern demand of partial maintenance. The governing principle was to be "equality of privilege in a republic of letters for all ranks of the people."

Equally modern was his suggestion that town councils should have the power to found and endow middle-class schools, and equally wise was his proposal that such schools should not be governed by the town council, but by a body selected by the council, having "the qualifications of learning, intelligence, and social influence, and, as far as possible, a scholastic experience."

His views on the curriculum were not less interesting. He was doubtful as to the wisdom of laying down general principles: every grammar school, he thought, should teach both Latin and Greek, but a boy's probable career should, after the age of fourteen, have some influence on his studies. If he were destined for commerce, or for the civil service, he should enter the mathematical or modern side at that age, having made Latin the foundation of his linguistic training. Greek he did not regard as very valuable for such boys, owing to the demands on their time by the claims of modern languages. "As respects a purely commercial career," he said, "I should be reluctant, unless it were proved to be a necessity, to give up instruction in Latin; I mean that I should be sorry to say or do anything which should induce parents in commercial life not to give their children a good literary education."

These views may sound commonplace enough in our day, for we accept as obvious wisdom the need for expert knowledge in the Board of Education, the desirability of continuity between various grades of schools, the importance of a scholarship system, the educational advantages of the varied curriculum—but it would not be difficult, if space permitted, to show that, in 1866, such views were novel enough to demand full expression.

The Commission reported in 1867, and made valuable

recommendations for the improvement of higher education, but the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 was not bold enough to carry them out. It merely set up three Commissioners with power to initiate schemes for the better application of educational endowments. These schemes were to be approved by the Education Department, and, when finally approved by the Queen in Council, they were to acquire the force of an Act of Parliament. But the cry of Matthew Arnold: "Organise your secondary education," was ignored, and "a great opportunity for kindling a sense of unity throughout English secondary education was lost."¹

Meanwhile, Sir James had been made a governor of the ancient Grammar School of Giggleswick, in the county of York. Founded in the reign of Edward the Sixth as a "free school," it had been controlled by a local body of Governors, with the Vicar of Giggleswick as ex-officio Chairman. In 1864, by an order of the Charity Commissioners, ten additional governors, including Sir James, were appointed,² and a new scheme was prepared, which proposed to give them power to charge a fee of not more than £12 per annum for each boy. When the scheme was published, the inhabitants called a public meeting to protest against the change, and much local excitement was produced, which called for determination and tact. At last, a majority of the Governors decided to grant thirty free admissions.³ The dissentient minority entered a protest on the minutes, and Sir James, who presided at the meeting and did not vote, prepared a memorandum which was also entered on the minutes, in which he defended the concession as being in harmony with previous usage, with the intentions of the founder, and with local wishes.⁴ The inhabitants of Giggleswick were not

¹ Sir M. E. Sadler, *Outlines of Education Courses*, p. 49. His account of the Schools Inquiry Commission and of the Endowed Schools Act is both a convenient summary and an authoritative criticism.

² Also Mr. Walter Morrison (M.P. for Plymouth) and Mr. C. S. Roundell.

³ Without limitation of area for applicants. The inhabitants wanted thirty free admissions for a limited area, or forty with unlimited area.

⁴ This memorandum is a careful statement of nine reasons which

satisfied with the concession, and threatened to appeal to the Court of Chancery, much to the alarm of the Governors and the well-wishers of the school. The Schools Inquiry Commission was then sitting, and early legislation was in sight, so the Governors resolved to gain time by omitting the clause bearing upon fees, and waiting to see what the immediate future would bring forth.¹

A visit in 1865 from Mr. J. G. Fitch, an Assistant Commissioner under the 1864 Inquiry, revealed many internal difficulties and unsatisfactory conditions, and helped forward the promulgation by the Charity Commissioners of a much more satisfactory scheme than that of 1864 had proved; and the retirement of the headmaster and of the usher, in 1866, offered a free field for reform. Temporary arrangements were made to continue the school while additions and alterations were being made which should equip it for the new educational needs of the West Riding and of Lancashire.²

Into this work of rebuilding Sir James put all his accustomed energy and foresight, and had soon won the support and confidence of nearly all the Governors. The first need was increased accommodation for boarders, as well as land for enlarging the school buildings and for playing-fields. The headmaster's and usher's houses were small and inconvenient, and the Governors, led by Sir James's arguments, and following the example of Marlborough and other schools, decided to adopt the hostel system, according to which they, and not the headmaster, would bear the financial responsibility

cover the school's past history and its probable future development. My attention was drawn to it by an old and faithful friend of the school as an illustration of Sir James's fairness and moderation, to which qualities he attributed Sir James's great influence and popularity in the neighbourhood.

¹ Mr. C. S. Roundell, one of the new governors who led the dissentients against the concession, describes the controversy in his evidence before the Schools Inquiry Commission, vol. v. pp. 307-317.

² Up to 1864 the Vicar of Giggleswick was ex-officio Chairman of the Governors. After the scheme of 1864 came into operation a chairman was appointed for each meeting, but on Sept. 5, 1866, Sir James was unanimously appointed chairman for the year, and this was repeated annually, so long as he lived.

arising from the boarding house.¹ Plans were accordingly prepared for a hostel to accommodate fifty boys, Sir James keeping in close touch with the architects, and especially insisting that the dormitories and studies should be larger than was usual in those days, that the whole building should be light and spacious, and that particular attention should be paid to ventilation and drainage.

The inhabitants of Giggleswick were still sending their sons to the school as free scholars, according to the truce of 1865, and still receiving boarders into their private houses, according to ancient custom. They saw the hostel buildings growing up, the herald of the coming change, and called them by the contemptuously good-humoured name of "Governors' Folly." They were finished in 1869, and brought to an end the period of transition and of temporary makeshifts.

A report was prepared which reflected Sir James's own view of the future of the school. While it recognised the possibility of a classical side, it suggested that the main work might be in modern subjects, to meet the requirements of the industrial districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, whence the boarders would chiefly be drawn. The whole internal organisation of the school, including the appointment and dismissal of the assistant masters, was to be entrusted to the headmaster, who was no longer required to be in Holy Orders, though the appointment was still to be subject to the approval of the Bishop of the Diocese.

In May, 1869, the Governors proceeded to the appointment of a headmaster, and their choice fell upon the Rev. George Style, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and assistant master at Clifton College, who held the office till 1904.² Sir James had taken much

¹ Sir James speaks strongly, in his evidence before the Schools Inquiry Commission, of the superiority of the hostel system.

² I am indebted to Mr. Style for many of the facts concerning Sir James's work at Giggleswick, and regret that I cannot find room to quote at length his account of it. I have, however, followed some parts of his manuscript very closely. He died in January, 1922, shortly after he had given me this valuable help. It should here be recorded that the great development of Giggleswick School, and its efficiency in the years

interest in the election, and took pains to encourage the newly-appointed head in his task of carrying on the work of an ancient foundation under new conditions.

The Endowed Schools Act was passed in the same year, and the Commissioners under the Act, of whom Lord Lyttelton was chief, at once began to draw up schemes for endowed schools throughout the country. In May, 1870, an Assistant Commissioner visited Giggleswick, and, at a conference with the Governors, made several extraordinary suggestions with reference both to Giggleswick and Sedbergh, one of which was a combination of the two trusts. Sir James and the other Governors vigorously opposed the proposals, and, like Thring at Uppingham, fought for the recognition of local circumstances, and fought successfully. After much consideration a new scheme, largely the work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth and of Canon Robinson, one of the three Endowed Schools Commissioners, was approved by Her Majesty in Council on August 9, 1872.

This scheme met the wishes of almost all the Governors, and contained provisions in accordance with the policy which Sir James had supported for many years. The governing body was reconstituted and strengthened;¹ its powers were defined. The subjects of instruction were fixed for the promotion of modern education: they included chemistry and physics. Greek was not excluded; so the school was still able to prepare boys for admission to the Universities as it had done from its foundation.

The most striking change effected by the new scheme was the regulation which required the payment of entrance and tuition fees for all boys admitted to the school, whether day boys or boarders, except in the case of those able to win entrance scholarships or

following 1869, were largely due to his enlightened and vigorous control.

¹ It included Mr. John Birkbeck, a life-long friend and benefactor of the school, Sir F. S. Powell, M.P., Principal Greenwood of the Owens College, Sir Matthew Wilson, Mr. Hector Christie, Mr. Walter Morrison, Mr. C. S. Roundell, and (from 1874) Lord Frederick Cavendish, who succeeded to the Chairmanship in 1877, on Sir James's death.

exhibitions. The tuition fee was even required from most of the boys who were already in the school. Yet no single boy was withdrawn, on that account, at the beginning of the following term, nor did the number of day boys from the neighbourhood subsequently decrease.

The expansion of the school was rapid. In 1865 there were between thirty and forty boys; in 1873 there were more than a hundred. A chemical laboratory was built, a new residence was bought for the headmaster, and the old usher's house was turned into a sanatorium. The playing-fields were extended and improved. A large swimming-bath was built, and various other additions were made. The Hostel was enlarged, and the influx of pupils made necessary the provision of new classrooms for a hundred and twenty boys, and a large lecture-room for science. In all this growth Sir James's clear views and long practical experience enabled him to take a leading part. The manner of the enlargement of the Hostel was his own suggestion; the erection of the new school buildings near the Hostel, and away from the original site, was his personal victory, for he succeeded in convincing the whole Board, some of whom were at first hostile, that the site he advocated was superior both for present needs and future growth. He was able to report the good results that began to flow from these extensions when he addressed a crowded gathering at the first Prize-giving after the new scheme was established. Nor was it only in laying down the foundations of a great school building that Sir James showed interest: he was equally concerned in furthering the efficiency and happiness of the school community, and, as always, in securing an adequate staff of teachers and in spending a due proportion of the resources on their salaries. He concludes a printed letter to the Governors in 1873 by showing that the increased income of the school, following from an increase in the number of boarders, will be such that "the staff of masters might be adequately increased, and the reputation of the school placed on a still higher level by the growth of its efficiency."

During the whole time that he was Chairman of the Governing Body, he was careful to give due consideration to the views and even the prejudices of the Governors; and thus he secured their warm support. While they often differed from one another and from their Chairman on matters of minor importance, they all agreed in giving him their hearty support in his main object. His numerous letters and memoranda in the school archives, too detailed to be recorded here, testify to the enormous amount of labour he devoted to the task of making Giggleswick a great public school, and justify the statement of one who has known it through a long life of service,¹ that "Sir James practically *was* Giggleswick School at a very important and critical stage in its history."

He also took part in the reconstitution of Sedbergh School, which was only a few miles away from his house at Barbon. The task of the Governors there was comparatively easy, for Roger Lupton's foundation was a wealthy one, and they were able, in accordance with the provisions of the new scheme, to grant a liberal pension to the retiring headmaster. The school developed rapidly and without hindrance. The course of instruction was to be mainly classical. A new headmaster's house, large enough for forty boys at least, was to be built forthwith, and boarding houses for other masters were planned. Large additions to the playing fields were also made. Meanwhile, numbers steadily increased, chiefly by the admission of boarders as soon as the new accommodation was available, and Sir James lived long enough to inspire his fellow Governors with his own enthusiasm, and to see the school starting on a period of renewed prosperity.

Three other of his activities in the cause of higher education also call for brief mention. He served on the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction, appointed in 1870 under the Duke of Devonshire, and regularly attended its meetings and questioned witnesses. His colleagues on the Commission included Professor

¹ Mr. Brayshaw, Clerk to the Governors from 1901 till 1922.

Huxley and Sir John Lubbock, and the Reports, which began in 1871 and ended in 1875, were the first authoritative pronouncement in this country that scientific teaching should be given in all grades of education, from the elementary schools upwards. It is impossible to indicate the variety of questions put by Sir James to the varied witnesses that were called: they range from the methods of teaching science to the ways in which the State might best allocate grants, and from the complex problems of school curricula to the technical problems of industrial applications and research.

During the same years he gave his assistance to the movement for the higher education of girls, a movement which had received so marked a stimulus from the recommendations of the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1867, and from the Endowed Schools Act of 1869. In 1871 the National Union for Promoting the Education of Women was founded, chiefly by the labours of the Dowager Lady Stanley of Alderley, Mrs. William Grey, Miss Shirreff, and Miss Mary Gurney, and in 1872 the Union established the Girls' Public Day School Company, for the promotion of girls' schools. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth served for a time on the Council of this body, and gave active assistance in the establishment of its first schools at Chelsea, Notting Hill, and Croydon. A private paper, which he prepared and printed at the end of 1874, gives an analysis of the financial prospects of the schools, and a clear statement of future needs. More characteristic, however, was a paper which he circulated among the Council in July of that year, in which he raised various fundamental questions for discussion, such as the difficulty of choosing competent teachers, and the efficiency of the means that had been adopted to control the management and organisation of their schools.

"I have been always much impressed, during the progress of the efforts of the Council to establish efficient High Schools, with the slender acquaintance which the Council has any opportunity of acquiring

with the internal discipline, organisation, and management of their schools. One or two members of the Council do visit individual schools; but such visitation is liable to prolonged interruption from various causes, and it cannot be expected to have a systematic and official character. . . . The Council is about to found a third school at Croydon; and the distance of that school will interpose a new obstacle to that degree of knowledge of the internal organisation and management of its schools which it appears to me expedient the Council should possess. In the Prospectus of their Schools the Council has publicly declared that 'a regular system of inspection and examination . . . will be established.' So far as relates to inspection, the promise thus held out to the public has certainly not been fulfilled."

The third activity, which was also the last in his long career of public service, was, in the light of his forty years' labours to create a race of efficient trained teachers, the most interesting and the most important. This was his promotion, in 1875, of a Committee to consider the possibility of training University graduates and others as teachers for schools higher than elementary. The question had been considered by the Endowed Schools Commission, and had also been discussed at the Conferences of the Head Masters of Public Schools since 1872. The Head Masters had attempted to attract student teachers to their schools, but unsuccessfully, and the Endowed Schools Commission had prepared a scheme for the establishment of such a training college in connection with the Bristol Cathedral School.

Sir James secured the co-operation of some prominent educationists, and called a conference at his London house to which were invited the Head Masters of various public and first-grade schools, the Principals of the metropolitan training colleges, one or two Inspectors under the Education Department, and a few other interested persons. Lord Lyttelton, chief Commissioner under the Endowed Schools Act, consented to act as Chairman, and Sir James was appointed Vice-

Chairman. The first meeting was held on February 2, 1875,¹ and passed resolutions affirming the need of systematic training for teachers in middle and higher schools, and the desirability of establishing Secondary Normal Colleges. A standing committee was appointed "more particularly to confer with the Charity Commissioners as to the possibility of employing educational endowments in this way, with the Education Department and with the Universities."

Soon afterwards, Lord Lyttelton and Sir James were asked to prepare a Memorial to the Charity Commissioners, presenting their case for financial aid, as well as a public statement. A Conference was held with the Head Masters' Committee on April 29, and, as a result, a Declaration was prepared, affirming their belief in a "system of training in the Art and Practice of Teaching." This was afterwards circulated, and received influential support, nearly two hundred heads and assistants in the leading schools signing it.

In the same year was printed *A Sketch of the Reasons* for establishing such colleges and an account of their principal features. It proceeds by way of questions rather than deliberate statements, and its interest to-day lies in its remarkable success in foreshadowing modern developments. It looks to the Universities as the key to the problem; it suggests a year's post-graduate work as the best solution, together with the granting of a Diploma by the Universities conditional upon the reaching of a satisfactory academical status, and a satisfactory standard of efficiency during the training course; it anticipates the founding of halls of residence by the religious Communions; and it emphasises the importance of women's colleges for the training of assistant mistresses. Less interest lies now in its suggestion

¹ The invitation to the first meeting was signed "Lyttelton, Edwin A. Abbott, Alfred Barry, H. Montagu Butler, Hugh G. Robinson, James Kay-Shuttleworth." Other interesting names recorded as attending at various times were Francis Galton, Rev. Evan Daniel, J. G. Fitch, E. C. Tufnell, Rev. Dr. Percival, Baron Donald Mackay (Lord Reay, the later name by which he is better known), U. J. Kay-Shuttleworth, M.P., H. W. Eve, Rev. R. H. Quick, etc.

that non-graduates might be educated and trained in special institutions, preferably in London, where the help of the staffs of King's and University Colleges, the School of Science, the National School of Art at South Kensington, and the metropolitan training colleges would be available. It looks to educational endowments for financial assistance in founding such colleges, quoting the "recently declared opinion of the Charity Commissioners" that their promotion was a "not unsuitable object" for funds applicable to the purposes of education.

The achievement of such aims was, of necessity, slow, and, during 1876, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's Committee languished. Lord Lyttelton died in that year, and Sir James's health was gravely impaired. He spent the summer in the Isle of Wight, and, in the autumn, he moved by easy stages to San Remo, and there spent the winter. To this unsolved question of training teachers for higher education he gave much of his remaining strength in those last months of his life, and began the preparation of a paper on it. A pathetic interest belongs to the roughly written, fragmentary manuscript. It begins in apologetic vein by explaining that he would not have ventured to publish his views on a question concerned with the internal difficulties of schools without having first submitted them to the criticism of several able and distinguished headmasters whom he numbered among his friends. The paper shows the same inside knowledge of the teaching process which had underlain his grasp of the education problem in all its bearings, and is marked by the same understanding of the relations of scholars and teachers which had been his possession from the beginning. After showing the difference between individual tuition and class teaching, he describes the position of the unfortunate man who, without any training, is put in charge of a class:

"He may be wanting in quickness of eye, in the power of appreciating character, and he may fail in that authority of voice, look, and gesture by which

young pupils are controlled. If these deficiencies are complicated with any oddity of manner or voice or personal appearance, he sometimes becomes the sport of the mischievous pupils who have a love of fun and think everything fair against their masters. But, if he have none of these natural defects, he may have no conception of the mode in which even a large class may be kept in simultaneous activity. If so, his collective teaching will soon cease to attract the attention of any but the most gifted and best-instructed pupils, and the laggards and dullards will be left hopelessly in the rear. Probably his instruction will differ little from individual teaching addressed only to the most forward pupils, and the dull and idle will derive little advantage from it. The art of teaching a class, so that the collective activity and result shall almost make it a living unit, is rarely a natural gift, and the first months of an untrained teacher's experience in the management of a class may, whatever his learning and other capacities, commonly be described as practice at the expense of his pupils. The Head Master of a most successful Public School has frequently declared to me that, instead of paying salaries to most of his assistant masters during the first two years, he ought to receive from each of them an honorarium for showing them how to conduct a class."

If the ideas are not original, they conceive of the problem in very human terms.

So, for the last time, the halting pen wrote its appeal for teachers who could teach, and the mind that had, in 1840, laid the foundations of a system which would bring to every poor child a teacher equipped to awaken intelligence, fortify character, and transform habits, also saw in 1877 the coming of another race of teachers, eminent in learning and rich in capacity, who should be enabled to impart their learning more effectively. He did not see his hopes realised; their achievement has been slow, but the day is within sight when the two needs of the teacher, knowledge and skill, will be recognised as of equal importance.

CHAPTER XI

GENERAL SURVEY

SIR James Kay-Shuttleworth died on May 26, 1877, in his seventy-third year. Fifty years he spent in public work, and the promotion of education was a subject of passionate interest to him throughout that period. Such disinterested consistency is a rare virtue, even when success is readily won, but his battle had been a long uphill fight against the powers of darkness, of apathy, and of prejudice. He bore the scars of the struggle through years of ill health, and he remained undaunted to the end.

Many private testimonies to his work and personality might be quoted, but they would add little to the record in these pages, and a selection will indicate their range. Of chief interest are those which refer to his work for education.

Mr. R. R. W. Lingen, his successor at the Education Office, wrote: "Of the public men I have known I should put none before him in his value to the State. As an administrator I never knew his equal." Viscount Sandon, Vice-President of the Committee of Council, described him as "one of the best and soundest authorities on education. His loss is that of the nation as a whole." Archdeacon Allen, the first Inspector of Church Schools, declared that "no one more honestly set himself to the discharge of his public duty, and to stir up others, whom he might influence, to the discharge of their public duty." The Marylebone Teachers' Association declared that "elementary education in this

country has lost its earliest and firmest supporter, and the teachers one of their best friends." ¹

The Governors of Giggleswick recorded that the condition of their school was "mainly due to the ability, experience, and constant care of their late Chairman," and the Head Master testified that "the new life which our school is enjoying owes almost everything to his energy and wisdom, and rare tact and perseverance." Canon Robinson, an Endowed Schools Commissioner, who had worked with him on the Giggleswick and other schemes, spoke of the "friendly spirit in which he received any proposals submitted to his notice, and the sound judgment with which he criticised them."

What impressed his contemporaries was his energy for work, his activity in leadership, his persistence. Sir C. Trevelyan wrote, "He has well done his work in life if ever any man did." The Vicar of Padiham testified that "he has done more for Padiham than any one can do again." Sir Thomas Erskine May wrote: "He was eminent for his intellectual power and activity, and has left a mark upon his age which will not soon be forgotten." John Gordon, formerly Inspector of Schools in Scotland, spoke of the "uncommon wisdom and energy" that he remembered of old; and Dr. Montagu Butler, Head Master of Harrow, wrote: "Among those whose labours have lifted England physically, intellectually and morally during the last forty years he will be held, I doubt not, by all competent judges, to have done a giant's work." William Langton, the Manchester

¹ Two private letters of much later date are also worth quoting. Sir Geo. W. Kekewich, Secretary of the Education Department, wrote in 1894: "I remember when the late Government first made public the proposals of the Code of 1890, which gave the *coup de grâce* to the Revised Code, being exceedingly struck by the extent to which, after thirty years, his memory and administration lived in the affections of the teachers." And at a still later date, in 1907, when education was once more the bone of contention between partisans, and the Churches stood menacing and hostile, Sir Robert L. Morant, Secretary to the Board of Education, wrote: "It was indeed fortunate in those early days that there was some one here to see things in the big, and to look far ahead. If the same sort of minds had been directing things here during the closing twenty years of the nineteenth century, many difficulties would have been avoided which now oppress us."

banker, his close friend of fifty years' standing, who, in 1877, had become old and feeble and blind, wrote of their intercourse, and of the "brave and unceasing battle" Sir James had maintained against the enemies of reform. And, with pathetic devotion to his memory, he put his tribute into sonnet form, the last ten lines of which recall the main efforts of his friend's work :

For early manhood's friend, now gone to rest,
 We do not weep ; 'tis for ourselves we grieve.
 His talents on our memory traces leave,
 By love and admiration there impress'd.
 Noble ambition filled his ardent breast,
 Sufferings of plague and sickness to relieve,
 Redress of social evils to achieve,
 And vindicate the claims of the oppress'd.
 With that devotion which commands success
 His health and strength he spent to serve the State,
 The poor to raise, the young to educate,
 And sacred rights of conscience to protect.
 When wronged, his soul in patience to possess
 Proved him as large of heart as intellect.

Another friend of long standing, Dr. W. C. Henry, F.R.S., whose knowledge went back to Edinburgh days, wrote :

"It has been my privilege during my long life to stand in intimate relations with many of the greatest scientific discoverers and teachers in this country and Germany. I can truly affirm that I have never come in contact with any mind that has impressed me more profoundly than his, with a sense of power, of a creative thought-evolving energy, *a vivida vis animi*, which I can scarcely characterise by any other word than genius. Looking back to his early prowess, I entertain the firmest conviction that, had he entered Parliament before his health broke down under too severe intellectual pressure, he must have reached the highest position as an enlightened thinker, an impressive speaker, and eventually as a wise administrator."

Last of all is the public tribute of Matthew Arnold :

"The faith in popular education which animated him was no intriguer's passion. It was heroic ; it was a gift planted by Nature, and truly and earnestly followed, cultivated, and obeyed. And he, who had this

clear vision of the road to be pursued, had a clear vision also of the means toward the end. By no other means than those adopted by him could a system of public education have been introduced in the country. Moreover, in laying out popular education he showed in general an instinct wonderfully sound—he grasped the subject more thoroughly, made fewer mistakes, than any of his successors. He was, too, a religious man, though both Church and Dissent distrusted him. He sincerely desired to make religious instruction a power in schools; he believed, as firmly as Butler, that of education what is called information is really the least part. Only the problem how at present to supply an effectual religious instruction seemed to him simpler than it is. As to programmes of secular instruction, he had acquired full knowledge of what was done in the good schools established on the Continent, and he applied this knowledge judiciously. I have already said that he did not attract, that he had faults; that both the clergy and the sects disliked and distrusted him. The general public was indifferent; it needed a statesman to see his value. Statesmen like Lord Lansdowne and Lord Russell appreciated him justly; they followed his suggestions, and founded upon them the public education of the people of this country. When at last the system of that education comes to stand full and fairly formed, Shuttleworth will have a statue.”¹

One comment should perhaps be made on this: distrust on the part of the sects was often the distrust of a Government official, and not of the man. When they came to know him in person their antipathy not seldom disappeared. A letter of his, written early in 1842, shows that, in a time of jealousy and prejudice, he won notable personal triumphs:

“Mr. Milman, the Poet and Prebend of St. Paul’s, told me last night that, if any one had told him, two years ago, that he should hear the Bishop of London make a speech to the National Society (when there were several Prelates present), commending my exertions for education, and assuring them that he had

¹ *Reign of Queen Victoria* (Smith, Elder & Co., 1887), edited by T. Humphry Ward, vol. ii. p. 240.

the utmost confidence in my judgment, disposition and character ; and if the person prophesying this had added that the National Society would thereupon proceed to elect a master on my recommendation to take charge of their central school, he would have said nothing more improbable could have been foretold. I asked him : ' Well, have I changed ? ' He answered : ' No ; but you have worked a more marvellous change than I thought it in the power of any man to bring about.' "

Enough has now been written to show the varied energy, the clear purpose, and the deep-rooted zeal of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's life. Much might have been added in the way of detail, but it would have been little different in significance from what has been set down.

A life spent in administrative detail, and in the promotion of efforts for social betterment, lacks those dramatic crises and swift-moving events which present-day taste seems to look for in biographies—and autobiographies. In comparison with the sensational revelations of many modern writers, the life-story of an educational administrator must seem dull. Yet, to him who can bring the gift of realisation to these pages, there is romance enough and drama enough. To see purpose strengthening and aim clarifying during crowded undergraduate days, to watch experience writing its message in the slums of Manchester and the workhouses of Norfolk, then to see the struggle during ten years of embittered partisan jealousy, when comfort, leisure, political ambition, and at last health were all sacrificed to an ideal of duty—here are all the ingredients of dramatic emphasis, if they are read aright. If dullness is found, it is the contribution of the author and of the reader. It is because we have not realised our kinship with those typhus-stricken poor in Edinburgh, with the cholera victims of Manchester, with the pauper degradation of East Anglia, and, chief of all, with the children of Great Britain, over whose starved souls and unawakened minds Churches could fight valiantly without perceiving the human tragedy that underlay the struggle for priority. It was

this gift of humanity, of philanthropy, of Christianity—it is called by different names, but its essence is one—that transformed the work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, and made the Education Office in Whitehall human enough to sway the destinies even of little children.

Great as an administrator, conspicuously able in conceiving and executing complex plans of varied character, he is revealed most truly in his passion for human well being. No amount of executive drudgery could subdue it; no amount of official or public opposition could deprive him of it. He refused to be beaten by difficulties or to be dismayed by opponents, strong as they were in numbers, in wealth, and in tradition, and unscrupulous as some of them were in misrepresenting his motives. It was often a lonely battle, and in his educational struggles he was both front line and outpost, and he was not always certain of the support of base and headquarters.

Strong in faith, he avoided the excess of sentiment and the mistake of over-emphasis which marred the work of some philanthropists. His active intellect enabled him to criticise himself as well as others, and his plans were worked out to the most minute detail before they were launched. Draft schemes, loaded with corrections, testify to the enormous care with which he scrutinised his own proposals. This intellectual strength made him a formidable opponent: he was called the "able," the "adroit," and the "wily" secretary, a person to be feared, to be watched, and even to be suspected. Yet never was a man so willing for honourable compromise, so fair in intention to reconcile opposing interests, so desirous of replacing the petty aims of partisan gain by the wider concepts of human progress. His methods may be criticised, and by some men compromise will always be condemned; yet, even measured by tangible results, his work must be admitted to be great both in quality and quantity.

In his educational work, especially as Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, there is no

doubt that he regarded himself as a scientific investigator watching a large and complicated experiment : the aim was clear, but the means thereto had to be found and tested. The investigation needed careful guidance and impartial scrutiny, apparatus had to be invented and sometimes discarded, and only time would reveal what modifications were required. He did not look for quick returns ; he speaks sometimes of a generation and more passing before certain results could be expected ; and a part of his condemnation of the Revised Code was based upon its short views as to what constituted a result worth having. In a scientific experiment partisan cries, anger, misrepresentation and unfairness have no place ; they vitiate the result, and beget error.

This combination of scientific method and philanthropic motive is, perhaps, Sir James's abiding contribution to educational history ; the concordat of 1839, the system of inspection, the founding of Battersea, the Factory Bill of 1843, the system of maintenance grants of 1846, and the management clauses controversy are interesting episodes in the development of a national system of education ; but they were, after all, transient stages of a great inquiry, and only imperfect realisations of their author's plans and desires. But his attitude to the problem of education is of eternal importance. It was unique in his day. His scientific training had given him the detached standpoint of the inductive method, and his human sympathies enabled him to conceive of its application on a national scale—if the lookers-on would only be patient. His published pamphlets were attempts to disarm suspicion ; his letters were written—with rare exceptions—in the spirit that turneth away wrath. The college at Battersea was, besides other things, an intensive study of one aspect of the experiment. It is not altogether idle to suggest that this combination of occupations—experimenter and official—helped to keep him human throughout a labour of routine duties that would have embittered or fossilised most men.

In the attitude of scientific detachment he is clearly distinguished from his contemporaries. The early part of the nineteenth century was a time of vigorous educational efforts, dominated by the figure of Lord Brougham, with his pathetic and unscientific faith that the spread of knowledge would cure every social evil. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge poured out its encyclopædic information in the vain belief that whosoever drank of such waters would go on thirsting for deeper draughts. The National Society, in the main, was impelled by its faith in a people who could read Bible and Prayer-book. The art of teaching consisted of learning a "system," that is, an organised and complete series of devices which were not to be questioned, but applied *en masse*. Later, under Robert Lowe's device of payment by results, a commercially prosperous age gave expression to the more materialistic view that education, instead of doing everything, could practically do nothing, and the little it could do was to be paid for like any commercial transaction.

Between these two views Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's efforts were marked by a lofty conception of the end, a chastened view of the means, and an open mind in studying the process in its operation. He stands out against his background, free from many of its prepossessions, breaking down many of its limitations. In an age when knowledge had been exalted from a means to an end, he strove to put it back to its true place, and showed the importance of correct habits, of useful pursuits, of healthy occupations, and of mental growth. At a time when teachers were "trained" in a period lasting from one to three months, he showed that adequate preparation required several years of disciplined life. In an individualistic age, he taught that the school was a social instrument and had community obligations. Through a period torn by sectarian jealousy, he stood serenely above the *mêlée*, a spectacle so rare in that day that he was regarded as heterodox. In a mechanical age, he held that the essential machinery for improving education was a better race of teachers,

men and women of cultured, devoted, and faithful life.

It was given to the biographers of Victorian days to see in their heroes no errors and no imperfections; to find a significance in every detail, and to trace a pattern through every detached incident. The conception has led to many bulky volumes and to much waste of words. No such claim is made in this record of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth's life and work. It is an attempt to place the man in his time, and his actions in their setting, to show that, amidst his contemporaries—whether in medicine, in poor law administration, in educational vision, or in general public life—he is an arresting figure. He was a leader by nature, endowed with foresight, boldness, caution, and stability in admirable blend, and he belongs to the great English tradition of public life which combines intellectual strength, moral principle, and political sagacity.

His work, however, has not received the attention that it deserved. His books are not easy to read, they look formidable, and they are often disconnected and give no continuous account of his aim and achievements. They give glimpses of an adventurous and active personality, as in the 1832 pamphlet on *The Working Classes of Manchester*, and in the *Reports* on Battersea, but they contain also many pages, and even chapters, as in *Public Education*, which few people would find interesting. The published facts about his life have been meagre, and references to him in various books are unrevealing and sometimes contradictory. The memory of men is curiously short: Sir James's medical research was lost sight of, although he forestalled many later investigators; his novels are now unread, although he portrayed the scenery and character of Northern England with rare faithfulness; his educational work of the 'forties has been frequently overlooked; and, as a public man, he has suffered the fate which causes men to drop out of remembrance when a new generation grows up. This record is an attempt to do him greater justice; to describe as faithfully as possible from the materials

available, the man himself, his hopes and fears, as well as his successes and failures, his aims as well as his achievements. Whether it is adequate or not, it has been written with the conviction that Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was truly great in his singleness of aim, his devotedness of service, and his clearness of vision.

CHAPTER XII

BY LORD SHUTTLEWORTH

A SON'S REMINISCENCES

IT has probably seldom been the privilege of a public man's son to spend most of his youth with his father in such intimate relations as were my lot. From twelve years of age in 1855, until my marriage in 1871, I was almost continuously with him ; and during the remaining six years of his life, we were often together, never long without seeing each other, and always in close and regular communication. Moreover, in the course of those years—twenty-two in all—it was his practice to relate to me much information about his medical, official, and administrative career. I met, and came to know, more or less well, his friends and many of his acquaintances. From some of them I learnt, both during his life and subsequently, numerous additional facts. All those who saw his work at the Poor Law Commission and the Committee of Council on Education, not to speak of his earlier career, have passed away. It seems only right, therefore, that I should put on record at least an outline of some aspects of my father's life, so as to supplement Mr. Frank Smith's account of his public work by a few touches such as his son alone can supply.

In 1842 my father married Janet Shuttleworth, the only child and heiress of Robert Shuttleworth, of Gawthorpe Hall, in the County of Lancaster. Letters which I possess seem to show that the first real link between my parents was forged by the help which my mother sought and obtained by writing to Dr. Kay, in October 1839, about her desire to improve the teaching



JANET SHUTTLEWORTH OF GAWTHORPE.
Portrait by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A. Painted about 1840.

staff at Gawthorpe School.¹ This school in the village of Habergham was a pet interest of hers, and important parts of it, added in 1840, bear her initials and the date. My father helped her to develop it, so that it became and remained one of the best equipped and most efficiently staffed voluntary schools. Until taken over, in 1898, by the Burnley School Board, it was jointly financed by the families at Ivy Bank (the Dugdales) and Gawthorpe, who provided all funds needed beyond the school pence and the Government grant. With help from Padiham neighbours and from building-grants, my father built, step by step, on land belonging to the Gawthorpe estate, at Partridge Hill, in Padiham, a handsome set of school buildings. Like those at Habergham, these were Church of England schools, but were largely attended by children of Nonconformist parents. Under the watchful eye of the managers, no religious difficulty arose in either set of schools. My father bestowed infinite pains on the selection, for the three departments of each of these schools, of the very best trained certificated head teachers, often bringing the mistresses of girls' and infants' departments from training colleges in Scotland, the merits of which he knew well. These teachers and their assistants, and the pupil teachers, he used to treat as friends; and I remember many occasions on which they were invited to tea in the dining-hall at Gawthorpe, and were heartily welcomed by him and his family. One of the headmasters of the boys' school at Habergham, Mr. Carey, enjoyed his special confidence, and was deservedly promoted to succeed the old estate-agent at his death. These and other facts are related in order to illustrate the special and fatherly interest which the originator in this country of the system of pupil teachers, and of training and certificating teachers of elementary schools, took, throughout his life, in the members of what he

¹ Early in 1841 my mother accompanied her cousin, Mrs. Davenport of Capesthorpe, Cheshire, on visits to see Dr. Kay's work at Battersea; and in November of the same year, when both my parents were staying with the Davenports at Capesthorpe, they became engaged to be married.

called, on at least one occasion, his "army of light." For an interesting experiment of a "Trade School"¹ at Padiham, he selected a certificated teacher, Mr. Noble, with whom many years later (in 1881 and 1882), I was associated on the London School Board, in whose service he had risen to the position of Senior Inspector of board schools. The success which attended another effort in the continuation of education beyond school age—the East Lancashire Union of Institutions²—was largely due to my father's happy choice of the two organising masters, or itinerating teachers and lecturers, Mr. Leonard Clement and Mr. Meaden. He used to speak with pride of the instances in which certificated schoolmasters, who had been trained at Battersea Training College, and some of whom had been work-house boys, attained positions of responsibility in the Civil Service and in the Colonies. Members of his family remember the answer with which he was wont to meet hypercritical remarks on the defects of schoolmasters, such as a tendency to conceit. He would reply with a kindly reminder that they were the results of "a hot-house training," and that they should be tenderly judged.

After his marriage, and for a brief period preceding it, he devoted much time and work, both by visits to Gawthorpe and the estates, and by constant correspondence with the agent, the auditor, and others, to assisting my mother in the management of her property, including the farms and collieries, and in all the attendant duties of a landowner to parishes, schools, and charities. Collieries and estate-management and accounts had to be put on a business footing. Improvements were urgently needed, notably field drainage on an extensive scale. The expense was great, and must have been a tax on my father's income, as distinguished from the rental of my mother's estates. At Habergham the school was enlarged, and a fine church built, the cost being shared between the nearest neighbours (the Dugdales) and my parents.

¹ See p. 248.

² See pp. 250-255.

To one who has seen records of his correspondence, both private and official, it is really amazing how much time and detailed work, during these years of crushing official labour, he devoted to assisting my mother in the management of her property. His letters to the agent, the auditor, and others were voluminous. Every duty of a landowner was discharged with the utmost fidelity and zeal. In his novel *Scarsdale* the ideal aspirations of an owner of Lancashire farms and cottages are described. These ideals were ever actuating his life at Gawthorpe and Barbon, during more than thirty years, and were carried into execution with all his practical administrative skill and his habitual watchfulness of the details of each work of improvement.

The periods of residence at Gawthorpe were necessarily limited, during the years of official responsibility at Whitehall. But it soon became apparent that, for more continuous residence, the old Elizabethan Hall could only be made habitable by considerable measures of restoration. Sir Charles Barry, the architect of the Houses of Parliament, was called in; and with his aid, under some restraining influence from my parents, repairs and improvements were carried out in 1850-51, without altering the character of the building, or impairing its antique charm.¹ Sir Charles thus criticised one of the defects which he remedied: he compared the Hall to "a fine picture without a frame." This frame he provided by the pierced stone parapet or balustrade which now surrounds it, and by laying out gardens, terraces with grass banks, stone steps and bastion walls, as well as walks symmetrically arranged, so that the two fronts, north and south, respectively look on a semicircle of fan-shaped flower borders, and on a set of flower-beds of formal geometrical pattern suitable to the Elizabethan style of the Hall. Parts of these improvements, as well as the construction of a new carriage-drive to the Hall, were deferred till 1862,

¹ See *Life and Works of Sir C. Barry*, by Rev. Alfred Barry, D.D. (Murray, 1867), pp. 138-140; also *Shuttleworth Accounts* (Chetham Society, 1856), Part II. pp. 317-330.

and afforded opportunities for the employment, on healthy outdoor work, of considerable numbers of operatives during the stoppage of the Padiham cotton mills due to the American Civil War.

In the years 1856-58, four volumes of *Shuttleworth Accounts* were edited by John Harland, F.S.A., and published for the Chetham Society (Manchester). In his introduction to Part III., the editor thanks my father for the liberality with which he

"has not only permitted access to the old muniments, but essentially contributed, in advice, information, and illustration, to the production of this work," which he describes as "a storehouse or dictionary of prices nearly three centuries ago,"—"a steward's book of house and farm accounts, receipts and expenditure of a country gentleman of Lancashire, during the last eighteen years of the sixteenth, and the first twenty-one years of the seventeenth centuries. . . . No other known accounts, of that or any earlier period, have so wide a range, a continuity so little broken, or so long a duration."

Part II. has, as Appendix I. (pages 259-323) an account of the Shuttleworth family and of their residences—especially of Gawthorpe. In antiquarian investigations about these subjects, great help was given by my father's friend, William Langton, who was on the Council of the Chetham Society.

With Edward Barry, son of Sir Charles, as his architect, my father completed, in 1863, a shooting-box on an outlying property, the Manor of Barbon, near Kirkby Lonsdale, which had been bought by Sir Richard Shuttleworth, Chief Justice of Chester, in the reign of Elizabeth. There had never been a residence on that estate, and my father saw how invaluable for health and recreation would be a holiday-home for his sons in that beautiful rural district, with its grouse-moors and other opportunities for sport. The house, Barbon Manor, was most happily placed at a point 650 feet above sea-level, with extensive views and a sunny southern aspect. Nor were the duties of this manor forgotten; for my father took the lead in pushing on,

with help from neighbours, the creation in 1843 of a village school, the provision in 1866 of a site and suitable buildings for school and schoolhouse, and the erection, in 1871, of a parsonage for the parish of Barbon, besides actively promoting more than one augmentation of the living.

Deep religious faith, a thorough knowledge of the Bible, and extensive reading in biblical literature were common to both my parents, and constituted a strong bond between them. Daily family prayers—my mother's beautiful Bible-lessons to her children—my father's love of having the Psalms read to him, especially when he was ill—his occasional expositions to children and servants at family prayers—his earnest sermons ("Words of Comfort and Counsel")¹ to congregations of distressed workers during the Cotton Famine of 1862—these were outward and noticeable signs of my parents' religious life. They were members and communicants of the Church of England, but in no narrow sense. My father's parents had brought him up as a member of the congregation of the Independent Chapel at Bamford; while my mother's Scotch bringing-up by her mother (*née* Marjoribanks) was doubtless the cause of her frequent attendance, with my father and her elder children, at Mr. Chalmers' Scotch Presbyterian Church in George Street, Bryanston Square, as an alternative to the Parish Church which they attended more regularly. My father was a reader of sermons (*e.g.* those of F. W. Robertson and Dr. Guthrie) as well as of works of learned divines and critics. He often took me to hear such preachers as Dr. Goulburn, Dr. C. J. Vaughan, F. D. Maurice, J. Llewelyn Davies, Dr. Jowett (at the church of W. Rogers), Spurgeon, and Norman Macleod. At Gawthorpe he used to visit sick neighbours of all classes. With his old skill as a physician, he would sometimes advise and prescribe for them; at other times he would read a chapter of the Bible to a friend—for instance, an old miner who had risen to be a colliery manager.

¹ These were not read, but some of them were printed for private circulation from a shorthand-writer's notes.

My father must have been endowed with exceptional strength and endurance, to judge by the amount of work and strain that he went through, as a physician (especially in the Cholera Hospital in Manchester in 1832), as Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, and most of all during his ten years of immense labour at the Privy Council Office. But in December, 1848, came a sudden and serious breakdown, and he was found insensible at his desk in that office. From that time till 1868 he was liable to similar sudden seizures involving unconsciousness for a period. After an attack of Roman fever, which lasted six weeks, during his visit with me to Italy in the winter and spring of 1868-9, I believe that these seizures never recurred. But, for the last thirty years or so of his life, he was frequently laid aside by severe pain which he called neuralgia. This took the form of violent spasms or twinges of pain in the legs, and often lasted many hours, or even several days. Some allusion must be made to two consequences of his breakdown and of the subsequent attacks.

First, there was the minor result that, for years, the obvious call to a man of his gifts and experience to accept one of his frequent opportunities of becoming a candidate for a seat in Parliament, though from time to time seriously entertained, had to be resisted, till, about 1867, it became his desire to put his son forward rather than himself. When I was apparently firmly seated at Hastings, and not till then, he yielded to an appeal in 1874, being then in his seventieth year, but free from the graver form of physical disability, and gallantly consented to contest North-East Lancashire, with Lord Edward Cavendish as his colleague.

Secondly, his own breakdown, in 1848, was unfortunately followed by that of my mother. In 1853 and the following years she became an invalid, unsuccessfully seeking renewed strength at various health-resorts in England and Germany and on the Italian Riviera. The distressing ailments of both my parents, coupled with my mother's promotion of a Prussian Pole, who was governess to my sister and myself, to be her inseparable

companion, caused a lamentable estrangement from my father. This came in spite of their perfectly happy life together for more than ten years, and of the truth and faithfulness of the tie that bound them to each other. The separation of their lives, notwithstanding all the efforts that were made by my father, and by his and her best friends, was rendered permanent by the almost hypnotic influence that this woman gradually came to exercise. She seemed to me to cherish, besides a love of power, a hatred of my father and a determination to keep my mother at a distance from him. Happily, in 1872, my father was much comforted by assurances of the renewal of the full attachment that had existed between them. These were sent to him by my mother from her death-bed at Soden, a German watering-place. The fact that my mother's mother, till her death, and nearly every relation of my mother's, as well as practically all her friends, remained or became warm friends of my father, shows that his conduct as a husband was irreproachable.¹

My parents kept up a frequent exchange of letters, a recent study of which has shown me how fully my father consulted my mother, so long as she lived, on many subjects, and especially on everything that affected the education and launching in life of their children.

Recognising the truth of the saying, *noscitur a sociis*, I have made a note of the names of some of his friends, which will be found in Appendix II. In London he was a frequenter of the Athenæum Club, the Geographical Society, the Royal Institution, etc., and had a wide acquaintance among men of scientific, literary, and public life. In Lancashire his friends were legion.

Among my most interesting reminiscences are those of the opportunities which he gave me of meeting, while I was still young, some of his more remarkable friends of

¹ Among his greatest intimates, throughout the 'fifties, 'sixties, and onwards, so long as they lived, were Mr. and Mrs. Greene, of Whittington Hall, who had been equally intimate with my mother; also her first cousin, *née* Caroline Hurt, who married Mr. Davenport, of Capesthorpe, Cheshire, and later was the second wife of the first Lord Hatherton, surviving him till 1897.

those days. As a mere child, I remember Mrs. Gaskell's visits, as well as going with him to see Harriet Martineau at Ambleside, and Frederick Temple, when working with him officially in London, long before the Rugby headmastership and his career as bishop and archbishop. Later, I accompanied him on a Sunday afternoon visit to Lord Russell at Pembroke Lodge, Richmond, where, as Lord Palmerston's Foreign Secretary, he was surrounded by diplomats. My father took me, though only a schoolboy, for some of his visits to country houses ; for example, we stayed with Lord Brougham at Brougham Hall, and with Mr. Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton) at Fryston. A memorable later occasion was our visit to Mr. Weld Blundell at Ince Blundell, to meet Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone during the contest, in 1868, for South-West Lancashire, where Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Grenfell were the Liberal candidates. At Gawthorpe, in my boyhood, I saw many distinguished visitors, for example, Charlotte Brontë, Bishop Prince Lee (of Manchester), Lord Shaftesbury, and Miss Burdett-Coutts. Doubtless it was part of my father's thoughtful plan for my bringing up, with a view to future public life, that I should have early opportunities, like these, of seeing such men and women of his own time.

It will be inferred naturally and correctly, from all that he wrote and accomplished, that he was a keen reader in a wide range. This included natural science and poetry, and works, both English and foreign, on social, economic, and historical subjects.

The ardour of his political convictions, about the date of the Reform Act of 1832, and until he became a Civil Servant, is shown by his correspondence about Lancashire elections, and by the part that he took in the Anti-Corn-Law agitation. From the lips of John Bright¹ I heard an account of the eloquence of a speech delivered by Dr. Kay at an Anti-Corn-Law meeting in Lancashire, ending with a rousing recital of the passage in Shelley's "Masque of Anarchy," beginning,

¹ See *Life of John Bright*, by G. M. Trevelyan, p. 20.

“Men of England, heirs of glory,
Heroes of unwritten story.”

At the Poor Law Board, and the Committee of Council on Education, he served under chiefs of both political parties. He emerged from the Civil Service no party man, but much attached to Lord John Russell, of whom he used to speak to me with admiration as “that great little man.” In the 'sixties he was a strong Liberal, with as intense an interest as ever in educational and social reform, but with some hesitation on the subject of Radical movements for household suffrage and the ballot.

When, in 1865, the first General Election came of which I have a vivid remembrance, he was summoned to the aid of his cousin, Richard Fort, of Read Hall, who was then Palmerstonian candidate for the ancient borough of Clitheroe. He and I hurried from Barbon to Read, where we found Mr. Fort so far from well that, on the following morning, his doctor would not allow him to go to the nomination. It had been expected that Lord Schomberg Kerr (afterwards Marquis of Lothian) would be put up as the Tory candidate. When we drove into Clitheroe, everything was so peaceful—Lord Schomberg Kerr having decided not to stand—that Dr. Arkwright drove back to Read to fetch Mr. Fort. Meanwhile, after he had been duly proposed and seconded, it was necessary somehow to interest and retain the crowd assembled in front of the hustings in the centre of the town. This was successfully accomplished by the long but effective speech with which my father kept the electors and non-electors engrossed till the arrival of their new Member to return thanks for his election.

My father had much to do with the first election, in 1857, for North Lancashire, of Lord Cavendish (afterwards Marquis of Hartington and 8th Duke of Devonshire). Accompanied by his uncle, Lord Richard Cavendish, the young candidate made visits to Gawthorpe, as one of the centres from which, with help from my father at his meetings, he prosecuted his canvass. He

was a poor speaker at first. But, after a meeting, my father would come back saying that the ineffectiveness of Lord Cavendish's speech had been redeemed by his capital answers to the questions of hecklers.

By the Reform Act of 1867, Lord Hartington's constituency was divided into two—North Lancashire and North-East Lancashire,—and he stood for the former at the General Election of 1868, while Mr. W. Fenton and I were the Liberal candidates for North-East Lancashire. My father took an active part in the organisation, and made two or three speeches for me, and for the Liberal candidate for Clitheroe (our friend Charles Roundell); but he deliberately gave me the chance of making my own way, by not, as a rule, attending the election meetings. He was a stout supporter of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church and Land policy, and stood as a Gladstonian Liberal for the same North-East Lancashire Division in 1874, when, for the first time, he contested a seat. A most effective Parliamentary candidate he proved to be, having long been known in Lancashire as a powerful platform speaker. Men who remember the election of 1874 in North-East Lancashire often talk to me of the lasting impression that his speeches made on his crowded audiences.

The record of his public life and labours—especially for Public Education—I leave to Mr. Frank Smith. But I may be allowed to contribute a word or two about his personal services to Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, and regarding his talent for administrative work.

When, in 1886, I went to Osborne, to be sworn in as a Privy Councillor, and to receive the seals of the Duchy of Lancaster from the Queen, Her Majesty addressed a few gracious words to me as to the valuable help my father had given her and the Prince respecting their schools (I think, at Windsor).¹

After working under him in the Privy Council Office,

¹ In February, 1842, the Prince had become the Patron of his schools at Battersea, and the Queen had permitted the use of the Royal Arms on the certificates given to schoolmasters. See also pp. 113, 122.

Mr. Lingen succeeded my father, in 1849, as Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education. It may be imagined with what pride, some thirty years later, I heard Lord Lingen (as he then was) declare, after experience of many chiefs and heads of Departments, at the Council Office and the Treasury, that, of all the men under whom he had served, my father was "the greatest administrator."¹

This gift for administration he employed for thirty years with most beneficial results, in developing, as I have already mentioned, the estates for which he became responsible when he married, and more conspicuously in his masterly control of the large sums for the relief of distress in the Cotton Famine, confided to the charge of the Executive Relief Committee in Manchester, of which my father was Vice-Chairman.² The problem was how adequately to sustain the health and life of the workers out of employment in the cotton factories, as well as that of their families, and to keep up their spirits, while avoiding the risk of pauperising them and undermining their sense of independence. The success with which these objects were achieved was a testimony both to the quality of the cotton operatives, and to the wisdom with which these large funds were administered. When the American Civil War ended, and cotton supplies were renewed, a large surplus remained, and my father took a leading part in the framing and adoption of the "Scheme," under which this surplus became the capital fund the interest of which helps to provide convalescents in the cotton districts with suitable treatment at the Devonshire Hospital, Buxton, the Southport Convalescent Hospital, and other places.³ One of the causes of my father's success as an administrator was his grasp, not only of principle, but of detail. He always made himself master of the details of any business that he took in hand. He may have carried this virtue to an extreme, as it was

¹ See also p. 316.

² See also p. 279.

³ See p. 283. This work still goes on under a Board of Governors, of which I have long been a member.

observed that he himself frequently laboured at carrying out his projects in detail, when some of this toil should have been entrusted to assistants and subordinates. He may be said to have acted—sometimes too literally—on the maxim attributed by Longfellow to another Lancashire man, Miles Standish :

“ . . . If you wish a thing to be well done,
You must do it yourself, you must not leave it to others.”

The breakdown of his health in 1848 was due to excessive overwork in the public service, under the strain of the controversies which raged around his measures for the advancement of public education.

With the permission of Lord Bryce, whose loss hosts of friends are now lamenting, the following extract is taken from a letter to me, about my father, of December 8, 1920 :

“ His gifts as well as his career were of a rare and striking quality. His mind impressed me as one quite exceptional in its lucidity, its precision, and its practical grasp of the actual and possible ; and this last was one of the things that made him so admirable an administrator. His words were always wise and weighty, based on thoroughness of knowledge and concentrated reflection. I have often wished that my opportunities of learning from him had been more frequent.”

A little time after my father's death, I invited the Rev. William Rogers, of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, to Gawthorpe, to preach at Padiham the annual sermon for the Partridge Hill Schools.¹ He did not tell me beforehand that he would take as his main subject the work and virility of my father. But so it was ; and Mr. Rogers spoke in his characteristic downright way, and with keen admiration, of his qualities as a *man*, and of the exceptional nature of his services to the country, and to the cause of education. The text was “ Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man, . . . ” (Jeremiah v. 1).

His gifts and diligence may be illustrated by a fact

¹ See p. 327.

related to me long ago, namely, that, at a time of special pressure, he would dictate three or more different letters simultaneously to as many clerks or secretaries. This was, of course, long before it became customary to use shorthand in secretarial work.

I was a witness of the intensity with which he applied his powers to spells of severe work—for example, in superintending measures for relieving distress during the Cotton Famine, and in organising conferences and a war of pamphlets in opposition to the policy of Lowe's Revised Code.

I am tempted to add a personal reminiscence connected with the debates of that educational crisis. They culminated in the division in 1864, and Lowe's resignation of office. My father took me with him to the House of Commons to hear at least one debate in 1862. We sat under the gallery; it was my first visit to the House, and in a long subsequent parliamentary life I have often recalled the scene. Lord Palmerston, as Prime Minister and Leader of the House, was the central figure; with him on the Treasury Bench were Sir George Grey, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Sir Charles Wood, Gladstone, Cardwell, Lowe, Layard, Sir Frederick Peel, Brand (the Whip, afterwards Speaker), and other remarkable men. On the Front Opposition Bench sat Disraeli, with Bulwer Lytton, General Peel, and Whiteside, as perhaps the most conspicuous figures. In the front corner-seat below the gangway was Lord Robert Cecil, then a free-lance and one of the protagonists in the fight against Lowe—a very different man, even in appearance, from what he was when he had developed into the great statesman and Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury. Lord Robert Cecil came and conversed with my father under the gallery, and then took us for a further talk in the old tea-room, now one of the House of Commons dining-rooms.

It may be of interest to record my impressions of some characteristic traits of my father, and to illustrate them by incidents which I remember.

He did not suffer fools gladly. Faults of conduct he often visited with a scathing rebuke. On the other hand, he was indulgent to dependants and servants, and sometimes retained in his service men in whose honesty or faithfulness he had lost confidence. On our arrival at Gawthorpe one autumn, after an absence of some weeks, he and I visited the hot-houses. To our surprise, we found no grapes. He called the gardener, who declared that every bunch had been devoured by a plague of rats. "T——," my father replied, addressing the gardener by his name, "I have a good mind to chalk up on the door of your house 'Here lives a rat.'" But he allowed the memory of past good service to outweigh a clear perception of the fact that this incident was not the only evidence of dishonesty, and the man retained his post so long as my father lived.

By one man, who was well known to all my father's friends, especially in Lancashire, he was devotedly served, for, I think, more than twenty years. This was his butler-valet, James Lennard, who was with him before his breakdown in 1848, and was his constant and faithful attendant in ill health, in journeys and visits, and in public work, including his duties as High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1863. During the Cotton Famine, Lennard collected considerable sums from his friends, many of them like himself in domestic service; and, with the proceeds of this collection, he gave a great tea-party to the old folk of the town of Padiham, which my father gladly consented to attend and address.

He attached much importance to efforts to provide, not only healthy employment, but cheerful entertainments and cheap meals for the distressed operatives at this trying time. He converted an old corn mill at Padiham into a sort of restaurant and club with a large assembly room. Here were supplied, at fixed low prices, excellent food and attendance, facilities for games, frequent concerts, popular lectures, and other amusements, all of which, thanks to his supervision of every detail, were a great success during many months.

Local talent was utilised, and the concerts were enjoyed by all who heard them ; part-songs as well as recitations and readings, often in the Lancashire dialect, were included.

Besides giving true and deep affection to all his family, he was a firm friend to many scores of people whose names I have not recorded. For relations, especially those of his wife, he did many generous acts, which were known only to an inner domestic circle. His hospitality at Gawthorpe was bountiful, especially in the year of his shrievalty, 1863-4. In this duty he was affectionately helped by his sister, who kept house for him from about 1855 till her death in 1869.

I remember, for example, the dinner which my father gave to the Burnley Volunteers, shortly after the inauguration of the Volunteer movement. The old dining-hall was completely filled with guests in uniform. By these and other means, he actively encouraged the raising of local forces for national defence.

To the miners in the service of his colliery lessees he gave a dinner in the Long Gallery at Gawthorpe, and smaller suppers to some of them in the servants' hall were also attempted. But at that date it was impossible to guard against some excess either of eating or drinking, and the experiment was dropped. Meanwhile he derived much amusement from the nature of the songs which were sung by more than one miner, in response to his call for music. Some of them—about "a moonlit night," etc.—were unmistakably in praise of the joys of poaching.

I can never forget a meeting of miners upon which, as a boy, I looked down from a hiding-place in the minstrels' gallery of the dining-hall. The colliery lessees had welcomed my father's offer of mediation in a strike. The men bluntly told him at the outset that, as they came along the drive, they had resolved not to yield. But he knew how to handle them, and, before they left, he had arranged terms with which he drove off to Burnley, where these were promptly accepted by the employers, and the strike was over.

His half-yearly rent-dinners to tenants, in the Long Gallery, were among the means which he most successfully employed to keep up and strengthen the old-fashioned happy relations between landowner and farmers. His effective, thoughtful, and humorous speeches on those occasions were greatly appreciated. But no record of them exists, as reporters were not present.

About 1860 my father decided, not without some anxious protests from at least one neighbouring clergyman, to throw open the grounds at Gawthorpe to the public for three or four hours on Sunday afternoons. The simple regulations which he laid down worked well. Hundreds and sometimes thousands of people availed themselves of the privilege, and scarcely ever was it abused. He used to enjoy a stroll among these visitors, and a chat with some of them. In those days the manners of the younger men and youths left something to be desired. If, on passing a group, he noticed that their hands had remained in their pockets, and no hat or cap had been touched, he would sometimes turn back and pause before them, making them a formal bow, with the certain result that, more or less awkwardly, all hands left the pockets, and some form of salutation followed, much to his amusement and satisfaction. This was one of the methods by which he rebuked, and tried to cure, unmannerly ways. This Sunday opening of the Gawthorpe grounds, at least in summer and autumn, became a permanent institution.

He had many social gifts, including those of a good *raconteur*. He told an amusing story well—conspicuously well if it involved the use of the Lancashire dialect, of which he had a masterly knowledge. This he turned to good purpose when, chiefly as a recreation, he wrote his two novels.¹ It was a treat to hear a chat in the dialect between him and some farmer, operative, or miner, when his sense of humour had full play.

¹ *Scarsdale*, 1860; *Ribblesdale*, 1874; published by Smith, Elder & Co. The preparatory fragments of a third remained incomplete at his death.

Of far higher interest were the numerous opportunities that I enjoyed of hearing conversations between him and his intellectual equals. At the outset of a tour to Italy, begun at the end of 1868, he and I encountered a party of three distinguished men on their way to join the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII.) for his visit to Egypt and the Nile. On the second day, during a railway journey from Paris to Lyons, Sir John Fowler, the engineer, and I were listeners to many hours of brilliant talk between Professor Richard Owen, Sir Samuel Baker, and my father. Each capped the other's stories of travel, natural history, and general knowledge; and I doubt whether, in a long life, I have ever heard a more thrilling conversation.

He had a happy knack, in the course of talks with me, when I was young, of suggesting maxims of business and conduct which I have, over and over again, recalled with advantage. It may be worth while to record examples of these:

"When you are going to a meeting or a committee, prepare yourself thoroughly on the questions to be discussed. If you draft a resolution on some point on which a decision has to be taken, put it in your pocket, and produce it at the right moment; you will very likely find that nobody has come similarly prepared, and you may probably carry it without difficulty."

"In drafting an official circular, to Boards of Guardians, for instance, the writer should ask himself: 'How will this letter be read and interpreted by the man who reads it in a country place?'"

. He advised the utmost lucidity from this point of view.

One day, in a walk across Hyde Park, he made a profound impression on me by the earnestness with which he expressed his conviction that a man could accomplish nothing great, for his fellow-creatures, without being deeply imbued with the "spirit of philanthropy." That spirit was with him a passion.

After our return from Rome in 1869, a contested

by-election at Hastings gave me a seat in the House of Commons, and opened to my father a new prospect of interest in public life. This was enhanced by the fact that one of the chief measures of the Government, in my first parliamentary session, was the Education Bill of his friend, W. E. Forster. The second reading debate on this measure afforded the opportunity for my maiden speech in Parliament, in which it was my privilege, while stating my views on the Bill, to say that they had not been formed without consultation with one to whose labours in the cause of education Parliament had on many occasions done justice.

In the preceding session, the Endowed Schools Bill had been passed, and thenceforth the development of three endowed schools in Lancashire and Yorkshire, under schemes framed by the Endowed Schools Commission, over which Lord Lyttelton presided, were among my father's chief occupations.¹ These were the ancient Grammar Schools of Burnley, Giggleswick, and Sedbergh. In the preparation of these schemes, especially that for Giggleswick School, he actively co-operated with the Commission.² Both at Burnley and Giggleswick he was Chairman of the Governors, and was largely responsible for the new buildings erected, and for the initiation of reforms which widely extended the scope and usefulness of the two schools. During the remainder of his life, their development, especially that of Giggleswick School, was one of his foremost interests. He also bestowed much care upon the steps taken to make due provision for the teaching of natural science—notably of chemistry—as a prominent part of the curriculum, both at Giggleswick and, on a less ambitious scale, at Burnley.

Connected with this work for education in Secondary and Public Schools, were the efforts which he made to secure the recognition of a principle which he had had at heart for many years, namely, the importance to the assistant masters of Secondary and Public Schools, of a training in the art of teaching. To advance that

¹ See Chapter X.

² See p. 308.

much-needed reform, the urgency of which has even now been insufficiently recognised, he arranged meetings in his house in London, which were attended by several headmasters of Public Schools, and were presided over by Lord Lyttelton. If my father's life had been spared, it is possible that greater progress would have been made in securing that such training should be a condition of appointment, in the case of every assistant master.¹

My marriage in 1871, and the death of my mother in 1872, followed by the birth of his first grandchild, were family events of alternating light and shade that made a great difference in his domestic life.² For my constant companionship, that of his daughter and his two younger sons, in the absence in Australia of my next brother Robert, was substituted. Barbon Manor became his country residence, and improvements in the Barbon estate took the place in his life of the work that he had carried on for thirty years of estate development at Gawthorpe, which, from 1872 onwards, became the home of my wife and child and myself, when not in residence in London for the parliamentary session. My father was often with us, delighting in the company of his daughter-in-law, and of his little granddaughter, giving me the advantage of his ever-ready and invaluable counsels, and making Gawthorpe his headquarters for activities about the Burnley and Giggleswick Schools, as well as for his North-East Lancashire election contest in 1874, already noticed above (p. 336).

There were signs in 1876 that his health—so much improved in important respects after his recovery from the Roman fever in 1869—was giving way. The spring of 1877 found him seeking the benefit, in his daughter's company, of the sunny climate of the Riviera. One evening in London a telegraphic message from her warned me and my brother Lionel of a change for the worse. The latter, who was then house-surgeon at St. George's Hospital, and I, on reaching San Remo, and

¹ See pp. 312-315.

² For *Kay-Shuttleworth family*, see Appendix III.

after calling in the best advice available, were convinced that the commencement of extremely hot weather, as well as the necessity for special professional skill, rendered the journey to London imperative. It was accomplished without harm, and my father was delighted to find himself at home again. He died in his London house, 68 Cromwell Road, a few days later, on May 26, in his seventy-third year.

APPENDIX I

THE MORE IMPORTANT WRITINGS OF SIR JAMES KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH

I. Medical :

Papers in various medical journals, 1827-1834.

De Motu Musculorum (M.D. Thesis). Pp. 56. 1827.

The Physiology, Pathology, and Treatment of Asphyxia. Pp. 344.
1834.

II. Poor Law Reports :

Annual *Reports* of the Poor Law Commission, especially the volume entitled *Reports on the training of Pauper Children.* 1841.

III. Education and Social Science :

The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester. Pp. 74.
Ridgway, London, 1832.

Papers contributed to the Manchester Statistical Society, 1833-1835.

Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England. Pp. xxii + 112 (seventeenth edition). Ridgway, London, 1839.

Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education (contributions to), 1839-1849.

The School, in its Relation to the State, the Church and the Congregation. Pp. 93. Ridgway, London, 1847.

Public Education. Pp. 500. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853.

Letter to Earl Granville on the Revised Code. Pp. 80. Smith, Elder and Co., 1861.

Four Periods of Public Education (a reprint of the pamphlets of 1832, 1839, 1847, and 1861, together with other material, including the *Reports* on Battersea). Pp. 644. Longmans, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862.

Papers read before the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1859, 1860, and 1866. (Printed in the annual reports of the Association.)

Memorandum on Popular Education. Pp. 83. Ridgway, 1868.

Social Problems (a collection of miscellaneous papers). Pp. 332.
Longmans, Green and Co., 1873.

"Some of the Results of the Education Act and Code of 1870."
Fortnightly Review, May, 1876.

IV. Miscellaneous :

Words of Comfort and Counsel to Distressed Lancashire Workmen. 1862.

Scarsdale. A novel. 3 volumes. Smith, Elder and Co., 1860.

Ribblesdale. A novel. 3 volumes. Smith, Elder and Co., 1874.

APPENDIX II

SIR JAMES'S FRIENDS

AMONG his most intimate friends, Mr. William Langton,¹ the Greenes of Whittington, the Forts of Read Hall, Mrs. Davenport—afterwards Caroline Lady Hatherton, and Miss—afterwards Baroness—Burdett-Coutts, have already been mentioned.²

The names which follow have been selected by his son from memory, with the knowledge that many others might be included, especially those of London friends and Lancashire and Westmorland neighbours, and fellow-workers in several fields of labour.

Official Chiefs and Colleagues.—Lord John Russell, Lord Lansdowne, Sir George Nicholls, Sir John Shaw-Lefevre, Nassau Senior, E. Carleton Tufnell, Sir James Stephen, R. R. W. Lingen (Lord Lingen), F. Temple (Archbishop of Canterbury), H. Chester, Sir Francis Sandford (Lord Sandford).

Other Public Men.—Lord Brougham, Lord Shaftesbury, Arthur Kinnaird, R. Monckton Milnes (1st Lord Houghton), Sir Edward Ryan, Sir Edwin Chadwick, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Lord Lyttelton, the 7th Duke of Devonshire, and his three sons, the 8th Duke, Lord Frederick and Lord Edward Cavendish, T. Phillips-Jodrell, Sir James Brooke (Rajah of Sarawak), Lord Stanley (15th Earl of Derby), Lord Justice James, Mr. Justice Grove, Sir William Page Wood (Lord Hatherley), W. E. Forster, Sir Thomas Acland, Wentworth Beaumont (1st Lord Allendale), Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, Thomas Hughes, Charles Buxton, George C. Brodrick, Charles S. Roundell, James Bryce (Viscount Bryce), Walter Morrison.

Medical and Scientific Men.—Sir James Simpson, Sir Henry Holland, Sir Henry Acland, Dr. J. A. Symonds of Clifton, Dr. W. Charles Henry, Michael Faraday, Sir Roderick Murchison, General Sabine, Robert Stephenson, Sir Charles Lyell, Professor Richard Owen, Sir Joseph Hooker, Sir Andrew Ramsay, Professor Huxley, Professor Tyndall, Sir Edward Frankland, Sir Lyon Playfair (1st Lord Playfair), Sir Francis Galton, Sir Henry Roscoe.

¹ See pp. 25, 26, 28, 317, 330.

² See pp. 1, 113, 129, 327, 333, 334, 335.

Literary Men and Women, and Clergy.—Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Gaskell, Charlotte Brontë, Matthew Arnold, W. R. Greg, P. G. Hamerton, George Murray Smith (publisher of his novels), W. E. H. Lecky, Bishops Blomfield, Stanley, Prince Lee, Thorold, and Harvey Goodwin, Deans Hook, Milman, and Stanley, Canons Moseley, Norris, Robinson, and Nisbet, Archdeacon Allen, Dr. Jowett (Master of Balliol), Dr. J. Llewelyn Davies, Rev. W. J. Kennedy, Rev. William Rogers, Rev. G. Style.

Lancashire.—James Heywood, Oliver Heywood and his brothers, Edmund Potter, the Tootals, the Kennedys, the Duckworths, Jonathan Peel, Colonel Wilson-Patten (Lord Winmarleigh), Robert Townley Parker and his son Arthur, Robert N. and Mark Philips, Thomas Ashton, John Edward Taylor, Henry Dunckley, William Rathbone, Hugh Mason, John Cheetham and his son John Frederick, Thomas Brooks (1st Lord Crawshaw), Sir John Pender, Henry and Edmund Ashworth, John Platt, Sir John Hibbert, Principal Greenwood (Owens College), William Tunstill, H. J. Roby, E. J. Broadfield.

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